BLACK RELIGIOUS FOLKSONG: A STUDY IN GENERIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The genre, Afro-American religious folksong, consists of a number of categories which can be related and contrasted with each other by the use of several dimensions. In the past, all terms used to describe this genre have fallen within three perspectives - historical, literary or poetic structure, and performance with an emphasis on musical configuration. It is the purpose of this research to investigate the historical, literary and musical characteristics of each category to ascertain its defining features.

Afro-American religious folksong has had, over the years, a particular problem in the naming and classifying of its sub-types.[1] Investigators have consistently misapplied terms to inappropriate songs without regard to historical or contextual matters. Others have simply included all types under one nondescript heading, such as "hymns." The work of still others, such as that of George Pullen Jackson and Don Yoder,[2] although in itself of great value, can not be fully applied to Afro-American culture and further has not delved deeply enough into all the subtle ramifications with which our three perspectives are concerned. The status of terms within this genre, then, is inconsistent, ill-defined and lacking in full description.

One problem seems to be inherent in the very nature of change within this genre and rests with those factors which pre-dispose for shifts in meaning over time, the out-dating of terms due to social innovations and the use of old expressions in new ways. The mutual influences of culture contact and social classes on the content, structure and interpretation of the terms is also of vital importance.

Another issue, lacking full treatment by many investigators, is the relationship of the songs to the history and worldview of the people. In this study of a genre, the parameters of text, music and performance of the songs are promoted as being essential to elucidating their defining features. However, the songs do not survive as an end in themselves but must also be related to the context which produced them. Historical matters not only serve to magnify social and cultural dynamics but by revealing the juxtaposition of black and white cultures, affords the student a look at the ideology and attitudes of the blackman; for the sociology

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of the Afro-American must always be viewed vis-à-vis the dominant white society. This historical relationship with its concomitant social situation, then, defines the world view.

Weltanschauung or worldview is a philosophical notion which deals with how a culture perceives itself relative to nature, to the universe and to its actual social condition. Each culture orientates itself along distinct traditional viewpoints and conceptions of how to order its life with regard to its environment. Worldview denotes the particular cognitive structure which is idiosyncratic of the culture in question and which is expressed by the society's symbolic and communicative system. It has a religious dimension as signified in its very nature of self-orientation to the cosmos in which man realizes his role within a heirarchy of earth-bound objects and Gods. It is also a normative directive for it suggests a way of existence and because it is part of the culture's cognitive arrangement, worldview is culture specific. Ethos, like worldview, is a form of ordering an individual's life, for it too is a normative control. It represents the value-system of the culture, focusing on what is the good life and the ideal way in which people should live. Ethos, however, mainly rests with those values which are developed within

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the social life of the individual. But worldview is a larger whole than the ethos. Redfield has summarized the intent behind worldview:

> It is the attention to the native's conception of the cognitive along with the normative and the affective that distinguishes the world view from other conceptions for describing the whole reality.[3]

Our concern with worldview is the manner in which it acts as a cultural marker. Just as folklore in general can be an indicator of the peculiar cognitive dimensions of a given culture, worldview may act in the same capacity. Dundes has pointed out that, what he refers to as "Folk Ideas", may manifest itself within the folkloric genres of a culture.[4] These "Folk Ideas" are essentially the smaller units which may comprise the total worldview. They are the building blocks of the conceptual whole and if understood can generate insight into the entire cultural cognitive system. Whereas Dundes was, more or less, concerned with the basis for studying worldview as it exists within the entire spectrum of genres, we are concerned with a changing worldview as it occurs in one genre due to socio-historical dynamics.

Worldview, then, by being defined through the social situation, offers insight into how religion has worked for the blackman vis-à-vis white society.
Theology as expressed in the songs is important here but

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the notion of religion as an alternative lifestyle and cultural reinforcement for the community is most salient. Black religion, in this sense, has stood as an institution very central to the Afro-American community, for the church has been important for cohesion in the society, serving as a nucleus for stability. It is within this matrix that the peculiar worldview of the blackman becomes manifest. And threaded through all of this is the artistic expression of these matters, the songs. Cultural focus according to Herskovits, is, "that phenomenon which gives a culture its particular emphasis; which permits the outsider to sense its special distinguishing flavor ..."[5] And this is true for the songs, for religion without them loses its bite. An informant from a sanctified church told me that she could not conceive of a service or her religion without a great deal of music. In its absence, then, the very nature of the religious act becomes confused. The songs not only serve to bring the holy spirit but represent abstractions of feeling, trouble and emotions vis-à-vis the outer world, which can only be expressed by them. Consequently, they are much more than music and lyrics.

This investigation is concerned with a single genre and its many sub-types and although this writer subscribes to the holistic tenet put forth by Gossen in the study of the verbal genres of a culture,[6] the intention here is to understand how one genre changes over time and what causes this change. It is my reasoning that the spectrum of sub-categories within Afro-American religious folksong are dependent upon a particular socio-cultural configuration and can only exist within the defining features of that matrix. When the configuration changes, the type also does. This is not to say that once social alterations occur the old type is relegated to an inactive state nor is it proper to say, as in classic evolutionary terms, that the older form resides now within the periphery of cultural importance. It is more appropriate to consider that the older form changes according to the perspectives and attitudes of the culture in question and, at a particular point in time, is conceived in terms relevant to that culture.

THE CAUSES OF GENERIC CHANGE

Generally speaking, three major socio-historical periods may be discussed in relationship to change within Afro-American religious folksong. Each can be characterized by definite historical events which caused transitions within the black community and which led to transformations within their religious folksong. They are,

1. The antebellum slave period up to the civil war.

2. Emancipation and the decades leading up to World War I.
3. The period of the great Negro migrations to Northern urban centers during World War I and after.

We must also introduce, at this point, a number of social factors which are characteristic of each historical period and which tend to further define the socio-historical pattern associated with change in the songs. These are illustrated in diagram 1 together with their concomitant historical periods. It must be said that these are idealistic relationships and serve mainly a demonstrative and heuristic purpose. It may be opportune now to present a model which could better explain generic change in terms of this socio-historical dimension.

DIAGRAM I

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL FACTORS WITH THEIR ACCOMPANYING HISTORICAL PERIOD

Historical Period	Accompanying Major Social Factors
1. antebellum slave era	slave status lack of education and mobility
2. emancipation	freed status vertical mobility associated with better education, economic and class position
3. northern migrations to urban centers	population movements urbanism increased vertical mobility, education and economics

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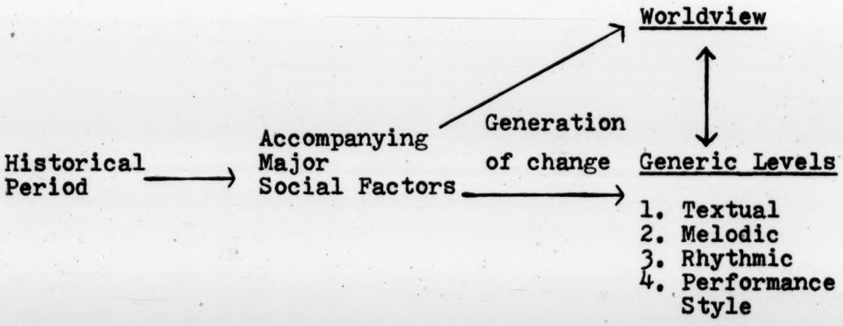
This model, as shown in diagram 2, suggests that during certain periods of gross historical transformation, there are associated factors within the given socio-historical period which predispose for change within the worldview and at all levels in the religious folksongs of the culture. These factors work to cause alterations in the culture's thought processes which may be reflected in the songs. For instance, if we are to discuss spirituals and their distinction from gospel songs, we must understand the social environment in which they were developed. The tendency, of those factors of vertical mobility and urbanism associated with the second and third historical periods (see diagram 1), is to

DIAGRAM 2

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL FACTORS TO CHANGE IN WORLDVIEW AND AT ALL GENERIC LEVELS


Worldview
Historical Period
Accompanying Major Social Factors
Generation of change
Generic Levels
1. Textual
2. Melodic
3. Rhythmic
4. Performance Style

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destabilize traditional manners and customs and to cause a shift in the culture's perspectives and outlook.[7] One looks back upon his past with a degree of uncertainty and realizes that the goals of a traditional way of life are antithetical to his aspirations. He, therefore, seeks to redefine his position and make modifications where it is necessary in the pursuit of his new ambitions. The factors of mobility and population movement are directly related to this sense of "aspiration" and predispose for its materialization within the culture.

Mannheim has pointed out that education tends to subject an individual to any alternatives to social existence which may occur within society.[8] The educated individual is aware of the entire spectrum of social reality whereas those who are not tend to accept the customs of their traditional way of life and simply adhere to its norms. The educated individual, moreover, makes demands upon his social and materialistic environment in order to strategically better his economic and class position. According to Mannheim, "vertical mobility is the decisive factor in making persons uncertain and sceptical of their traditional view of the world."[9] With education and a concomitant rise in status and economic security, one flaunts the traditions of his culture for one which is

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in keeping with his new position. The individual, then, readapts himself to his new niche.

With Afro-American culture, throughout history, the notion of "aspiration" has been shaped by the relationship of the dominant white society to the black subculture. Thus, the degree of vertical mobility which blacks could obtain was conditioned by the political attitudes of the whites towards them. As slaves, blacks were not in much of a position to better their economic lot or occupational status nor were they freely able to send their children to schools. Vertical mobility within American society was nil save for that which only occurred within the black slave community itself. In this regard, the slave could become a preacher or perhaps even attain the desired status of a house servant. If he had special mechanical skills, perhaps the plantation would rent his services to the community. Freedom could be obtained by escaping to the North or granted upon his owner's death. There were families in the North who had had freed status for a number of generations and who would eventually form the upper crust of black society, but for the most part, the black masses were relegated to the role of a slave-citizen whose opportunities were only those which existed in serving another culture. Education was a distant prospect as most plantation owners believed that such instruction bred rudeness, rebelliousness, laziness and bad work habits in their labor force. The slave community, then, was one conceived by constraint and did not have open to it those factors which could allow for change within its traditional manners and outlook.

With emancipation, there grew a number of opportunities for education and vertical mobility. A multitude of schools both in the South and North were formed for the education of blacks. Many of these evolved from the "freedman's schools" founded by the Abolitionist Movement. They were to produce an educated class of blacks but despite their presence, the bulk of Afro-Americans remained in the South still manacled to the worst jobs and unable to procure much education for themselves and their children. Illiteracy was quite high and although the North maintained the facade of emancipator and savior, little work was available to black citizenry. The country was still within the limits of an agriculturally based economy and as a result, most blacks remained in the South. Although there was a movement into the general environs of the larger urban areas of the South, this in no way approximated the tenor of Northern migration during the second decade of the twentieth century nor did it involve such highly complex and dynamic urban centers as existed at that later date.

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Many of those who attended such schools as Fisk and Hampton were members of freedmen's families who had already gained some degree of social standing. Their children were to form the upper and middle classes within black society. The view held during the twentieth century that the spiritual was the purest form of Negro poetic art may be traced to the Fisk Jubilee Singers who, during the eighteen-seventies, had promulgated the song type all over Europe and the United States. The spiritual had been extracted from the remorseful context in which it grew and became modified in presentation for the tastes of white audiences and discerning blacks. However, the type was still very much a part of the lower eschelons of black society where the readjustment of performance patterns was not as critical. They remained as a traditional community. But with such a drastic social upheaval as occurred with emancipation, one would expect changes in the song type and its content, as for example, in the "freedom songs".

During this period, a third Great Awakening swept the country and affected blacks in the eighteen-eighties just as the camp meetings of the early nineteenth century had done. The new song type was the gospel song and became adopted by the youth, much against their elders' wishes who still relished the older spiritual forms. These newer hymns reflected shifting attitudes and concerns

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in the black community. The sanctified church, which grew out of this revival, was a revitilization movement within the black masses aimed at returning to the fundamentals of the Bible. It incorporated every conceivable type of musical instrument for its purpose of making a greater noise unto the Lord. Their emotive style of performance was extremely important as a stylistic influence on gospel singing in the twentieth century.

It was emancipation, then, which effected two directions in black social classes. One, through education, attempted, in varying degrees, to emulate the white culture's ideology of vertical mobility and thus break with their traditional roots. The other remained much in the same position as it always had been, a tight community of uneducated personages with generally the same traditions and values that their slave brethern had had. As Joseph Washington has pointed out, the established churches sought religion for real social power while the sectarians pursued it as a defense against their accepted social condition.[10]

During the second decade of the twentieth century, the Northern industrial complex found itself in need of a new labor supply to fill the void produced by a decrease in immigrant European workers as a result of World War I. This situation, coupled with a waning Southern agricultural economy, initiated a mass migration of black workers to Northern urban complexes. Urbanism brought the Southern blackman into a totally new social and work environment. Highly urbanized and industrialized societies, such as those in the North, offered far greater opportunities and financial security than had been existent in the South. Wirth has pointed out that in urban centers, where there exists a high concentration of people, the trend was toward a greater differentiation within the job force to meet an ever expanding economy.[11] In such a dynamic and growing situation, new opportunities continually arose to meet the needs of the developing society. For the average blackman, it meant a greater degree of mobility, independence, and to an extent, more personal freedom. The Northern urban environment carried with it better schools and the mass media, with its entertainment, propaganda, information and status-conferring functions, brought the black community in close proximity to other cultures within their environment. However, blacks were thrown together within the congested limitations of a ghetto and were still regarded as second class citizenry who were delegated the most dangerous and lowest paying of jobs. Vertical mobility was only dependent on the higher standard of living associated with the very nature of urbanism. Thus, the black masses were only a notch

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better off than their rural brethren but relative to the established upper and middle classes in black society, they suffered a disadvantage.

Because of the congested nature of the ghettos and urban life in general, the control of the church in matters of community affairs diminished. Wirth has stated, that in such overcrowded conditions there is close physical but distant social contact.[12] This holds as well in the black community where the sheer weight of numbers produces a great proliferation of secondary interactions. Although this is true, the ghetto, being a product of isolation and rejection, maintained a cultural identity of its own in which the church acted as a cohesive bond much as it had done in the South and, in addition, played a role in the adjustment of newcomers to the city. It simply did not have influence over all levels of ghetto life. The ghetto represented a community in which the frustrations, tensions and anxieties of urban living produced a changing attitude and lifestyle. According to Wirth, because of a high population density and the emphasis upon visual recognition as the medium through which we realize the urban environment, the personality of the individual becomes clouded behind a facade of official services. In this sense, urban dwellers categorize people according to their utilitarian purpose in the society and relegate the primacy of personal contact to a secondary consideration. As Wirth has said, "We tend to acquire and develop a sensitivity to a world of artifacts and become progressively farther removed from the world of nature."[13] For the blackman, "a world of artifacts" should be augmented with the fact of group exclusion. Abrahams suggests this transition for the lore of urban blacks where there is concern with isolation and not with the threat of nature.[14]

The type of religious song of this period is the black gospel song. It reflects the influences of the nineteenth century gospel type but is totally black in its expression of an urban environment with its characteristic problems for Afro-Americans. In their own way, the songs deal with the issue of disruption by advocating a sense of community and alternative way of existence to street life. Just as the blues may be a secular orientation in opposition to gospel music, street life is contrary to the standards of the church. The black urban masses, then, fostered a church type which was able to deal with these problems. But we should also remember that there existed upper social strata which continued to view spirituals as art songs and to perceive emotional forms of music as degrading. They realized actual social power. This problem will be dealt with more thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

Our basic tenet has been that change within Afro-American religious folksongs is dependent on definite historical transitions and that certain social factors can be isolated which further define the reasons why innovations occur within the dynamic processes of the culture and songs. We have alluded to the phenomenon of culture contact as another basis for change as it concerns the white power structure vis-à-vis black society. But because of its boundless limits, it is not within the scope of this investigation to offer a detailed argument concerning its manifestations. For here, we would have to include a review of the discourse concerning the origin of the spirituals. Both Wilgus and Lovell have summarized the exchange which took place between those who supported a Negro origin and those who sided with a white derivation.[15] It is the writer's belief that the spiritual is a hybrid between the two and that within the hands of black Christians took on a textual and musical configuration which mirrored the attitudes and worldview of that culture. We will be concerned with the milieu of the Second and Third Great Awakenings which fostered a great resurgency in revivalism as well as musical innovation and, in addition, the use of religion as a social control during antebellum times and its effect on the slave. The attempt by certain classes of blacks to emulate white standards

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of decorum in their church services has purpose here as well in order to better understand the utilization of particular song types and styles of performance.

There is yet another attribute of the social process which deserves elaboration if we are to fully understand the medium for change in these songs. This is the problem of generations, i.e., age groups.[16] The generation has a social location just as does class position but it is based on social interaction and is conceived in terms of biological factors. Its importance rests with those experiences which a given age group adheres to throughout its existence. During the early part of an individual's life, he comes into contact with what Mannheim terms, the "primary strata of experience", which are essentially one's first impressions.[17] These early childhood experiences are most important because they set the tone of thinking in an individual. As one grows older, he acquires other strata of experiences but these are always judged in relationship to the primary set which serve as a foundation. Thus, an older member of the society is fixed by those encounters which he received early in his life. According to Mannheim,

> One is old primarily in so far as he comes to live within a specific, individually acquired, framework of useable past experience, so that every new experience has its form and its place largely marked out for it in advance.[18]

Further, every subsequent experience by an older individual derives its meaning from the first layer of impressions. In this way, the latter sustains a traditional viewpoint in everything conceived. The traditional view is that learned while a child and thus the primary strata of expression is a means of transmitting the heritage of the culture. The youth of the society also have secondary and higher levels of experience just as do the aged. However, because their youth places them in a position closer to their primary learned impressions, these higher strata are relatively pliable and amorphous. Thus, during currents of social change, the youth are able to readapt themselves to transition and are able to incorporate newness, although it too is judged relative to their primary experiences. The elderly, however, sustain the basic impressions of their youth which tends to inhibit the acquisition of this new knowledge. In periods lacking gross historical change, there should be a retention of the traditional scheme of things. The youth, in such instances, should maintain what went before in the culture.

We have seen that during times of gross historical transition there are a number of social factors which predispose for change. When these potentially innovative circumstances manifest themselves, the youth are

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primarily affected, for they are able to readapt their situation to meet these altering incidents. The result is an incorporation of new directions and ideas related to the songs. The aged lack this ability. Instead, they are content to use the older forms and manner of singing. This circumstance can serve to explain the introduction of new song types into a church and its resulting influence on repetoire. Further, in combination with class position and vertical mobility, it can offer a better understanding of the location of a given song type within the entire spectrum of black churches.

THE CONCEPT OF GENRE

Up to this point in our discussion, we have been primarily concerned with generic change due to historical transitions and particular social factors. But we have not discussed the concept of genre which underlies all of this. I believe that this investigation offers two areas of interest along these lines, one involving a diachronic and the other a synchronic argument. The first is concerned with genre as a mutable form over time; the other considers the cultural cognitive level at particular points in time. Genre conceived as a mutable form is similar to what Ben-Amos describes as "evolving forms", but does not necessarily carry with it the connotation of Jolles' universality of specific mental pursuits with which mankind is concerned.[19] These aspirations include such elements as morality, reality, holiness and the family and are the basic intellectual conceptualizations which give rise to the einfache Formen (simple forms). The latter include the myth, the riddle, the proverb, the legend, the Sage, among others, and serve to express what man is primarily concerned with. These "simple forms" act as the basis for the more complex forms, the literary genres, which have evolved from the "simple forms" due to some historical circumstance. They are more complex because society is so, but they still are representations of the same "fields of meaning" as are the "simple forms".

This writer can ascribe to the intellectual basis of these needs on a gross but not a fine scale. It may be true that there exists a basic set of generic archetypes which operate as verbal manifestations of the intellect and it seems appropriate to say that religious songs are sung as part of an emotional quest for holiness. But it tells us nothing about the very import of specific cultural requirements in particular environmental conditions. For instance, it may be argued that both white and black revivalists joined together, during the camp meetings of the early nineteenth century, for the

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same emotional needs. However, when each is considered separately as far as historical development and cultural ideology is concerned, there are definite differences to be found. Further, the intellectual needs of man does not say much for shifts in meaning and expression within the "simple forms" which results in a proliferation of sub-types. This means that those sub-types - such as the spiritual, gospel song - within the highest inclusive level of genre - Afro-American religious folksong - are transitory. They represent the finer levels of the scale and serve to define the highest layer of genre. Thus, the latter must be interpreted on the basis of the current meaning of its sub-types which are prone to vary diachronically. This variation may be noted in its themes, style, rhythm and also in the attitudes of the culture towards it. No form is permanent. Even if its outward manifestations are, it is how the culture uses and perceives the genre which is the deciding factor. Meaning changes over time. As Ben-Amos has stated,

> The names of genres are indicative of the attributes people perceive in their verbal art forms. The interpretation of names of genres should not be literal. Such an explanation might point to the etymology of a word but not necessarily to its current meaning.[20]

It becomes necessary to consider such change with regard to the cultural process itself as it interacts with external forces. And because each cultural situation is unique, all consideration must be given to events occurring within specific cultural cognitive areas. Genres are mutable and they are so because culture is. And the rate of change in meaning and expression is dependent on that existing within the culture itself.

The concept of a "current meaning" for a genre brings us to our synchronic sphere, cultural cognition. As mentioned above, it is significant as to how a culture conceives its genres and with what meaning they are imbued. To clarify this point, consider the use of spirituals in a present day black sanctified church.[21] Most of the congregation recognizes them as such, although they are performed in a modern gospel style of singing. Some will say that the songs are reminders of slave days and are reaffirmations of faith in the hand of God. Others will tell you of the sweetness in the old songs which had been nurtured in troubled times and that this message is just as good for the present day as then. The youngest members of the congregation do not realize they sing spirituals and tend to group all tunes in their repetoire as gospel songs and hymns. They do recognize a category of "spirituals" and the conditions under which it developed. In fact, they are able to make a few distinctions between the two types. One difference lies in the positive attitude of gospel songs while the spirituals have an opposite outlook. But despite this, although they unknowingly sing spirituals, they feel that all their songs have no characteristics similar to that of spirituals. It seems reasonable to conclude that for them all their songs have the same up-to-date meaning and that they have reinterpreted the spiritual accordingly. In this complex heirarchy, it may be said that although there is an interest in spirituals, it is distant and respectful. Even if the message in the songs has value for today, the environmental context in which they were originally sung has drastically changed and therefore defines the situation differently. The cultural predisposition to sing such songs does not echo a slave status but an alternate lifestyle to that of gangland warfare in the ghetto.[21] Consequently, although certain spirituals remain a part of this church's repetoire, the meaning behind them has been altered as well as the worldview. Therefore, in a discussion of the spiritual or any religious song type, the writer must define his context and point-in-time to fully understand its "current meaning".

The cultural cognitive approach, then, can be a means of gathering data to define the culture's conceptions of the material at various points throughout history. This writer tends to agree with the argument that the cognitive approach is the best means of attaining elucidation of those classificatory items conceived by the culture, for it represents a segment of the society's communicative system. Concepts are symbolized differently from culture to culture because the rules employed in interpreting them are different.[23] Gestures, objects and spatial relationships all have specific meanings which are peculiar to a given culture. This distinction of culture lies in its inherent socialization process which essentially is represented by the learning of rules employed in creating, using and interpreting symbols. Spradley has said that, "Every symbol, because it is arbitrary, implicitly involves a rule for attaching it to a particular referent."[24] Symbols may not only involve objects or concrete visual elements in the environment but also the representation of abstract units or ideas.

The conceptualization of categories in a given culture, then, is based on how that society perceives its environment through which it will identify, abstract and order classes of events.[25] This ethnosemantic process gives insight into how people name things. By discovering finer and finer levels of attributes which characterize these categories, a better understanding may be had into what the culture considers important and how it operates.

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It is not enough to list all the terms for a particular domain or gross generic level but the investigator must also discover what are the defining attributes which relate these terms together and characterize them. These attributes are necessary in order to understand why terms are ruled in or out of a given class. Ben-Amos has reviewed the essential argument for the study of ethnic categories and concludes that the names given genres by a culture, "....often reflect their symbolic value in the network of formal communication and their position in the cultural cognitive categories."[26]

At this point, I must reverse myself, for my previous statements concerning ethnosemantics are more of a desire than reality as far as this investigation is concerned. Although it has been suggested that historical matters and the concept of worldview tend to bring the problem of generic definitions closer to contextual reality, this study, as a whole, can not approach the genre as it operates within a well-defined context. This is due to our units and defining attributes which are not fine enough. In dealing with traveler's accounts and historical records, we must rely upon descriptions by those who lacked general training and direction in concrete observation. We are left with a great deal of superficial relationships, much of which only suggests other areas of inquiry rather than provide objective answers. Moreover, discussions relating to a culture's own description of events and categories are generally sparse and rather shallow. This is not to say that ethnosemantic methodology can not be applied to historical cultures, but only that a full documentation is needed.[27] Nevertheless, in the appendix, a list of terms has been culled from traveler's accounts and the like in a move towards this direction. This list has been rounded out with material gathered from fieldwork done in Philadelphia during 1973 and the early part of 1974. The suggestion here is that such an index can act as a foundation for further work within a modern day church setting where the investigator has more opportunity to elicit the categories and their attributes with the proper question frames, as Spradley has accomplished with urban nomads.[28] For the delineation of historical periods, we must do with what documents we have on hand. This study, therefore, does not pretend to have elucidated a set of truly ethnic categories but on the other hand has taken the matter closer to this characterization and away from what Honko refers to as "ideal types".[29]

In summary, then, we have considered the genre of Afro-American religious music as a mutable art form being linked to those dynamic factors which comprise an

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everchanging socio-cultural matrix. We have further considered the importance of the culture's cognitive orientation in this matter which acts to clarify the meaning of each term at a given point in time.

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NOTES

[1] There are a variety of these sub-types, some having textual and others having performance distinctions. They include: the spiritual, hymn, psalm, folk hymn, religious ballad, the shout, the gospel hymn, the gospel song, the anthem, the Jubilee. Each will be discussed with reference to their historical, literary, and performance characteristics in the final chapters.

[2] See for example, George Pullen Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1937); Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961).

[3] Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[4] Alan Dundes, "Folk Ideas as Units of World View," in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. by Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1972), p. 96.

[5] Melville Herskovits, "Problem, Method and Theory in Afro-American Studies," *Afroamerica*, 1 (1945), 21.

[6] Gary H. Gossen, "Chamula Genres of Verbal Behavior," *J. of American Folklore*, 84 (1971), 145-46.

[7] Redfield, *Little Community*, p. 106.

[8] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1936), p. 138.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 6.

[10] Joseph R. Washington, Jr. *Black Sects and Cults*, C. Eric Lincoln Series on Black Religion (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1972), pp. 7-8.

[11] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American J. of Sociology*, 44 (1938), 11, 14.

[12] *ibid.*, p. 16.

[13] *ibid.*, p. 14.

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[14] Roger Abrahams, "The Negro Stereotype: Negro Folklore and the Riots," *J. of American Folklore*, 83 (1970), 67.

[15] D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959); John Lovell, Jr., *Black Song: The Forge and the Flame* (N.Y.: The Macmillan Co, 1972).

[16] Karl Mannheim, "The Sociological Problem of Generations," in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. by Paul Ecskemeti (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952), pp. 288-304.

[17] *ibid*., pp. 297-298

[18] *ibid*., p. 296.

[19] Dan Ben-Amos, "The Concepts of Genre in Folklore," to be published in *Folklore Genres: A Symposium* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975); *ibid*., "Analytical Categories and Ethnic Genres," *Genre*, 2 (1969), 281-83; Paul Hernadi, *Beyond Genre* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 91-93.

[20] Dan-Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories," p. 286.

[21] Personal interview with three choir members, Church of God in Christ, Philadelphia, Pa., November 18, 1973.

[22] *ibid*., interviews with church members, 1973-1974.

[23] James P. Spradley, "Foundations of Cultural Knowledge," in *Culture and Cognition: Rules, Maps, and Plans*, ed. by James P. Spradley (San Francisco: Chandler Pub. Co., 1972), p. 14.

[24] *ibid*., pp. 14-15.

[25] See, Jerome S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and George A. Austin, "Categories and Cognition," in *Culture and Cognition: Rules, Maps, and Plans*, ed. by James P. Spradley (San Francisco: Chandler Pub. Co., 1972), pp. 178-179.

[26] Dan Ben-Amos, "Analytical Categories," p. 295

[27] John Caughey, private interview, University of

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Pennsylvania, October, 1974. Such a study is being applied to the Quakers using a great amount of information culled from community newspapers and other documents.

[28] James P. Spradley, "Adaptive Strategies of Urban Nomads," in Culture and Cognition, ed. by James P. Spradley (San Francisco: Chandler Pub. Co., 1972), pp. 235-262.

[29] Lauri Honko, "Genre Analysis in Folkloristics and Comparative Religion," Temenos, 3 (1968), 61-62.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this historical analysis is to present those events which demonstrate the nature of Afro-American society during its three major periods of transformation (see, page 7). It has previously been pointed out that such matters tend to define the attributes of each period wherein a better understanding of generic change may be had. We have said that Afro-American history must be viewed vis-à-vis white society and so it is important for us to emphasize those attitudes which white Americans brought to bear in their relationships with blacks. This is especially apropos for the earliest period, for here the foundation of these dispositions was laid and cemented. In the following discussion, emphasis will be placed on those social factors which predispose for change in the songs. These factors involve the degree of vertical mobility attainable by the group as it is defined by education, class locus and regional location. Stress will also be put upon the religious practices, church types and worldview of the slave as he strove for some type of identity.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AS A SOCIAL CONTROL

A discussion of the Afro-American, during the period when he first appeared on this continent up to emancipation, must be one which juggles between the sentiments of Christian ideology and economic reality. For when the Southern agricultural economy cried out for a cheap labor force which should be maintained at the expense of guaranteeing the well-being of its members, the church abided with a policy that conversion did not dictate manumission. It seems that the missionary zeal of the church, in the past, emphasized the saving of men's souls without meeting their social or physical needs. This, however, stemmed from an outlook which considered conversion as most salient for mankind. Three centuries ago, conversion to the faith of God and preparation for death was an integral part of life. People believed in a spiritual world of good where the soul would reside in an eternal peace. If one was not baptized, hell would be the only option. The heaven-hell opposition represented an actual threat and thus the saving of one's soul denoted a far more important venture than his human dignity. It is true that many clergymen were appalled at the institution of slavery and did all they could to bring about better treatment for the blackman, but the trend was to support the wishes of the ruling class as a conciliatory move to convert the slaves. As we shall see, when Southern Churches were confronted with a singular choice of converting the blackman or saving his human dignity, they chose the former to maintain the status quo.

It has been an unwritten law in Christianity that all men's souls should be given spiritual sustenance for as long as they remain on earth. The church generally favored conversion for blacks but there seems to have been a general lack of cooperation in this direction from planters.[1] For the most part, prior to 1660, at a time when the blackman was only a small part of the servant force in Virginia and Maryland, those blacks who spoke English and seemed a bit civilized in understanding Western mores, were baptized by the Anglican Church without regard to their civil status.[2] Many of the clergy and some planters voiced the opinion that a Christian could not hold another as slave. Even as late as 1731, a Virginian slave sued for freedom on the basis of her Christian faith.[3] Most planters, of course, did not comply with conversion for it would have destroyed the large-scale investment they had made in slave labor.

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Further, the planter needed a stable work force to operate his fields. Conversion, to them, was simply too uneconomical. Bacon's Rebellion may be cited as a turning point in the reliance of the plantation on black laborers.[4] This insurrection, which began in the 1670's in Virginia as a revolt of the poor to secure Indian lands for themselves, resulted in the need for a stable labor force to replace white indentured servants. Blacks could be disarmed and totally bound to a life of servitude whereas white servants served only a minimal time and retained more civil rights and contact with the white establishment. Subsequent to this revolt, increasing numbers of blacks were brought to the colony as slaves. The planters, then, had a large investment to protect in maintaining the system. They argued that conversion made their charge rebellious, undisciplined and proud, moulding them into poor, uneconomical servants.[5] Many thought them too stupid and ignorant to learn the religion of intelligent men. There was also the feeling that converted blacks would undermine the status of white society and compete against the established order.

The clergy did not have much control in the South. For example, in Virginia the twelve ruling vestrymen of each parish had ultimate power over selecting clergy for their positions.[6] And every vestryman was a planter.

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Consequently, the influence of the ministers in matters of social reform was limited. In the hope of fulfilling their main objective - the conversion of slaves - the clergy compromised. In 1667, the Virginia assembly passed a law which assured that conversion did not guarantee manumission.[7] To this, most clergy succumbed. Later, in 1727, the Bishop of London finalized all thinking on the subject.

> To which it may be very truly reply'd, That Christianity, and the embracing of the Gospel, does not make the least Alteration in Civil Property, or in any of the Duties which belong to Civil Relations; but in all these Respects, it continues Persons just in the same State as it found them. The Freedom which Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of Mens Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward Condition, whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized, and becoming Christians, makes no manner of Change in it....
>
> As to their being more ungovernable after Baptism, than before; it is certain that the Gospel every where enjoins, not only Diligence and Fidelity, but also Obedience, for Conscience Sake; and does not deprive Masters of any proper Methods of enforcing Obedience, where they appear to be necessary.

The clergy emphasized that instead of disloyalty, conversion would make the slaves more obedient. Their sermons told the blackman that to be saved for the next world, he must be cleansed of his sins in this one and that included obedience to his master. Thomas Bacon, for instance, preached that the slave, by obeying his master, was in essence obeying God and that if he

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fretted or grumbled about his condition, he would greatly offend the Almighty.

> In the next place I endeavored to shew you how you ought to behave towards your masters and mistresses, and to make it plain to you that as God himself hath set them over you here in the nature of his stewards or overseers, he expects you will do every thing for them as you do for yourselves. That you must be obedient and subject to them in all things and do whatever they order you to do unless it should be some wicked thing which you know that God hath forbidden, in which case you are to refuse, but in no other. That you must not be eye servants, that is such as will be very busy in their master's presence, but very idle when their backs are turned. For your head master, Almighty God, is looking at you and though you may escape being found out or punished by your owners for it, yet you cannot deceive God, who will punish you severly in the next world for your deceitful dealing in this. That you must be faithful and honest to your masters and mistresses, not wasting their substance or letting anything belonging to them perish for want of your care. Because that is next to stealing, for the master's loss is the same as if he had been robbed of it. And that you are to serve your owners with cheerfulness, respect, and humility, not grumbling or giving any saucy answers, but doing your work with readiness, mildness, and good nature. Because your rudeness and grumbling is not as much against your owners, as it is against God himself, who hath placed you in that service and expects you will do the business of it as he hath commanded you.[9]

During the first part of the eighteenth century, this technique initiated a resurgence in attempts to convert the slaves. Religion was equated with slave management and became an acceptable policy to the planter who only really cared about the economics of his plantation.

Religion as a social control, through brainwashing, was welcome on those plantations which had experienced some form of slave infidelity or insurrection. Even

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during the late seventeenth century, slave resistance was common, running the spectrum from feigning illness to outright murder. A Virginia law of 1672, which sanctioned the killing of runaway slaves who resisted arrest, was one of the first that acted against rebellious slaves.[10] It seems that similar laws in New York did not deter a number of aggravated instances of unrest. In 1712, 27 armed slaves killed 9 whitemen and in 1741, mass hysteria over a false insurrection, caused the city to convict 101 blacks of crimes.[11] Virginia's first law which forbade blacks from holding meetings, carrying arms or leaving their plantations without a proper pass was enacted in 1680. The first formal organization of a patrol to investigate and check all unlawful assemblies of slaves was instituted in 1726-1727.[12] These acts were to guarantee the control of slave labor and to them was added, conversion.

Not all religious groups preached obedience. Some like the Quakers were against slavery on moral grounds and objected that slaves were not placed on an equal basis before God.[13] Other church groups which supported this thesis were poorly organized and/or lacked the proper authority to protect, demand fair treatment for, or inclusion of the slaves in their church. This was the typical situation in the South, unlike the North where the church held a great deal of power. For instance, in Virginia, although the Anglican Church was somewhat stable, there was always a problem of too few ministers and no bishop to ordain them.[14] For ordination, the individual had to travel to England. And, as mentioned above, they were always under the direct authority and control of the vestry.

During the period prior to the First Great Awakening, the Protestant concept of conversion was an arduous process which demanded a long educational procedure. There were varying degrees of requirements for each church type but basically there was an instructional prerequisite which many slaves had difficulty handling due to language and cultural barriers. In fact, many whites thought them incapable of intellectually responding to such education. But all this changed markedly with the coming of the First Great Awakening, around 1740, which essentially broke down the formal nature of the church and the bonds of clerical control.[15] It must be pointed out that during the first 100 years of colonization, religion was a commodity for the few. In Virginia, as we have discussed, the vestry controlled religious affairs and their interests for the masses, whether white or black, was negligible. Theirs was an economic focus totally alien to the average man. The lack or organized instruction for the masses was deeply felt by the clergy and indeed they petitioned for such a structure. Such matters take time but the coming of Pietism to the colonies flooded the gates of Christian ideology. Pietism, which placed heavy emphasis upon religion of the heart rather than the head, was mainly introduced by the immigration of the Mennonites and other Germans in the late seventeenth century. The accumulation of all of this resulted in a number of localized revivals such as that in New Jersey, led by the Dutch leader, Theodore J. Frelinghusysen, in 1726. In Connecticut, the brilliance of Johnathan Edwards fanned the flame of revivalism but perhaps even more significant, his writings, first published in England in 1737, influenced such men as John Wesley and George Whitefield. Prior to 1740, the revivals remained localized but it was in the activity of Whitefield that events took on a more general character. Whitefield traveled the entire extent of the colonies, preaching in the open air if necessary, in his quest for revivalism. But it was in the South where he was most successful.

The revivalists underlined the need for a heart experience, salvation for all and abstension from worldly goods. The tendency was to give less attention to rationalism and knowledge and instead emphasize conviction. They preached that the souls of men knew no color or class and that everyone had an opportunity for salvation. All that was needed was a heart experience to testify to one's faith. Consequently, thousands of slaves and poor whites attended and openly participated in these meetings. In 1740, Whitefield returned to Philadelphia from a sojourn in Georgia, when he was denied the sanctuary of the church for preaching. Instead, he ventured into the fields to speak. Whitefield remarked, "Many negroes came, some inquiring, have I a Soul?"[16] After he nearly succumbed to illness while on a visit to New England in 1744, a Negro woman said to him,

> Master, you just go to heaven's gate, but Jesus Christ said, Get you down, you must not come here yet, but go first and call some poor negroes.[17]

As a consequence of these revivals, blacks were converted by the droves, especially in those churches having the greatest informal character such as the Baptists and later, the Methodists. Blacks were now allowed to preach to their own people and in a number of cases, to whites.[18] Such revivalists as Whitefield and the energetic young Presbyterian minister, Samuel Davies, did all they could to help convert the Negro and educate him. Davies, who settled in Hanover, Virginia, in 1747,

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prided himself on attracting planters and especially their slaves to his congregation.[19] He was totally committed to the education of blacks and went out of his way to procure psalm and spelling books for this purpose. However, he made the point that the purpose of education was not to allow the slaves to question their social status but to make them good Christians and servants. The planters, true to their main interest, accepted this response but perhaps only in view of the small scale on which it took place. Interestingly, Davies himself was a slave owner but at least guaranteed fair treatment for them and met their spiritual needs. Even Whitefield, although openly deploring the slave trade and its more aggravated manifestations, used the scriptures to justify the purchase of a few slaves for his orphanage in Georgia and was one of the more influential men to repeal the laws against slavery in that state.[20] In summary, conversion even in a Pietistic sense, meant "obey thy master."

Although blacks now entered white churches in increasing numbers and generally were given better treatment and true spiritual equality, they remained as second-class citizens. Conversion still did not bring freedom. Up to the Revolutionary War, many hundreds of slaves had gained their freedom either by escape, upon their owner's death or through the goodness of someone's moral principle. But it was the Revolution which was to promote the abolition of slavery in the North and the freeing of hundreds of slaves throughout the colonies.[21] At first, the Continental Congress did not allow blacks to serve in the army until the latter part of 1775 when there was an open solicitation by the British for such troops. When restrictions were lifted, both free Negroes and slaves were enlisted by all states except Georgia and South Carolina. Despite these events, slaves by the thousands deserted, many of whom joined the British army. The war set the tone for a philosophical spirit of freedom based on Colonial independence. This was responded to by many blacks who pointed out the incongruities in the Declaration of Independence and the continuance of slavery. A large number of anti-slave societies grew up during the War and pushed for abolition. Many states promised freedom to those who fought in the Continental army. In fact, before the war ended, Vermont, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had abolished slavery. Over the next 20 years, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Ohio were to follow suit. All, that is, except those states which required a cheap source of labor to work their plantation systems.[22]

It is apparent that the ideological manifestations of the War of Independence did not take hold in the South.

There were many debates on the subject in the legislatures of southern states, especially Virginia. Already, the country was beginning to take sides between manumission and slavery. The Southern planter felt he needed the slave or the system would not survive. And he had to rationalize as best he could as a defense against the growing abolitionist movement. Any means by which the master could shield his slaves from the outer world and freedom was fair game. As the eighteenth century wore on, the planter had more and more reason to fear rebellion. The American Revolution had instilled a sense of hope in the slave as the French Revolution was to further do in the 1790's. Literacy among blacks became a problem as abolitionist tracts were distributed freely and the demand for education restated. Black preachers and freemen were accused of provoking the slaves to rebellion. A long and bloody insurrection in St. Domingo, which terminated in the ouster of the French, gave fervent hope to Southern slaves that freedom was possible. It was a period of increased restrictions, new laws, mass paranoia and hatred. Even the Second Great Awakening, at the turn of the nineteenth century, did not advance the blackman's cause amidst these cries of rebellion (The Second Great Awakening will be discussed in a subsequent chapter on the Black Church).

The insurrection in St. Domingo began with the fall of the Bastille in 1789, an issue which divided the French

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planters and which also gave freemen and slaves a taste for revolution.[23] Rebellion came swift and furious forcing great numbers of planters to flee to the United States, many of whom settled in Virginia with their slaves. Most southern states produced legislation to bar the entrance of freemen and slaves from the West Indies, except Virginia. Resident Virginians feared that the presence of St. Domingo blacks would incite their own slaves to revolt. Later in the decade, a United States treaty with the island shocked Virginians who now felt militant black St. Domingo seamen would roam their lands promoting further restlessness. Although slave owners in the United States never really had to fear a total civil war as had occurred in St. Domingo,[24] they began to limit the movements of slaves and freemen. The latter were especially considered dangerous as they had freedom of assembly and travel. Freemen began to be restricted by laws which at times remolded them back into slaves.

Southern apprehension reached a head, in 1800, when Gabriel Prosser planned to attack and burn Richmond and kill as many of its inhabitants as possible.[25] His plan called for about 250 men to enter the town in three groups and eventually capture the governor and hold him for ransom. The insurrection never completed itself as a heavy rainstorm delayed the attack and slaves loyal to

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their masters warned them of the rebellion. Although the Virginia slave code had been tightened and restructured a few years earlier, Gabriel's insurrection instigated a demand for harsher controls. These came in the form of restrictions on group meetings. An act passed on January 24, 1804, decreed that all evening assemblages of slaves at meeting houses or places of worship be unlawful. In 1805, the Virginia house passed a bill which penalized ship captains who allowed slaves to board their vessels without a proper pass. In 1808, it was deemed a felony for a freeman or slave to burn down a barn, other building, or any stack of grain.[26]

Despite continued revision of their slave codes, the states could not stop small-scale resistance. Public reaction to rebellion was severe. In 1805, a county in North Carolina, swiftly and brutally, executed a number of blacks who were involved in a plot to poison whites.[27] It seems evident that Virginia was not entirely prepared for an insurrection when Nat Turner and his group killed 55 whites, in August of 1831, at Southhampton. This rebellion caused a panic among the white populace who, now fearing more reprisals, demanded to be armed. The entire countryside was still in an uproar when the Virginia legislature met in the early part of 1832 to debate the slave question.[28] Those opposed to slavery took the position that future rebellions were still possible and that the system was endangering the state's economic standing. The opposition essentially argued the reverse, indicating that the rebellion was really an insignificant event. The outcome of all of this was the retention of the slave codes. Earlier in 1831, an act was passed to bar slaves and freemen from learning to read and write and in 1832, black preachers were forbidden to conduct religious services either in the day time or evening. The attitude of the entire South toward the slave seems to have been summarized in a comment by a member of the Virginia house of delegates in 1832.

> We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their (the slaves') minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on the level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe! I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the process, and that in the plea of necessity.[29]

During this period and effective up to the Civil War, as outlined above, laws were enacted by the southern states which restricted the organization of religious services and which banned black preachers. Many Southerners felt that revolts were nurtured within prayer meetings. Much of the blame fell on the black preachers who were thought of as leaders and possible stimulants for slave unrest. To eliminate the problem, many times they were sold.[30] That this policy was not always effective was shown by the Nat Turner revolt. Turner was a preacher who, in a vision, sensed that he was summoned by God to destroy all slave-holders and free his people.[31] In essence, however, the policy toward religious services and preachers rested with the individual planter.[32] A number discouraged the services altogether, sometimes brutally, in an attempt to break up large slave gatherings. Many held the fear that religious instruction bred a sense of equality and liberty. In other cases, the slaves could attend their master's church but were forced to sit in the balcony or a special section separated from the white congregation. Less stringent masters held independent meetings for the slaves on Sundays and during the week on Wednesday. But in most cases, the master chaperoned the service. As had been the situation during the early part of the eighteenth century, the clergy continued to direct their sermons and reading of the scriptures toward obedience, omitting those sections of the Bible which told of liberty and release from bondage. During these times, however, the necessity of submerging the blackman's mind was even more pertinent for security's sake than it had ever been. An ex-slave, in the twentieth century, recalled a typical sermon of the period.

> You slaves will go to heaven if you are good, but don't ever think that you will be close to your mistress and master. No! No! There will be a wall between you; but there will be holes in it that will permit you to look out and see your mistress when she passes by. If you want to sit behind this wall, you must do the language of the text 'Obey your masters.'
>
> Now don't you steal your master's chickens, turkeys; don't you steal your master's hogs, and don't you run away; don't talk about your mistress and master. If you do, you will not get a chance to go to heaven and sit behind the glorious wall, because here is the language of the text.[33]

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NOTES

[1] For an excellent summary of these attitudes, see, Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 179-212.

[2] Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1956; 1724), p. 229, note 201; Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 180-181.

[3] G. McLaren Brydon, "The Virginia Clergy", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 32 (1924), 324.

[4] Thomas Mathews, "The Beginning Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675-1676", pp. 9-41.
______________, "The History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, 1676", pp. 43-98.
______________, "A True Narrative of the Late Rebellion in Virginia, by the Royal Commissioners, 1677", pp. 99-141.
in *Narratives of the Insurrections*, 1675-1690, ed. by Charles M. Andrews (N.Y.: Charles Scribner, 1915).

[5] Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 99; Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 181-190.

[6] Charles S. Sydnor, *American Revolutionaries in the Making* (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 83-84; William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia", in *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. by James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1959), pp. 119-142.

[7] Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 230.

[8] Peter G. Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1921), p. 551.

[9] As quoted in, Aubrey C. Land, ed., *Bases of the Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1969), pp. 231-232.

[10] Arthur P. Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930), p. 299.

[11] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (3rd ed.; N.Y.: Alfred Knopf, 1967), pp. 91-94.

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[12] Scott, Criminal Law, pp. 303, 307.

[13] Jordan, White Over Black, pp. 206-210; for other groups also see, Mode, Source Book, pp. 552ff.

[14] Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (2nd ed.; N.Y.: Charles Scribner, 1973), pp. 32-33.

[15] For a background to these events see, Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 59-82; Edwin S. Gaustad, The Awakening in New England (N.Y.: Harper, 1957); William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America (N.Y.: Charles Scribner, 1944).

[16] John Gillies, Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield (Philadelphia: Leary, Getz & Co., 1859), p. 56.

[17] ibid., p. 113.

[18] Jordan, White Over Black, pp. 212-213.

[19] George William Pilcher, Samuel Davies (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1971), pp. 107-115.

[20] Stuart C. Henry, George Whitefield:Wayfaring Witness (N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1957), pp. 116-118.

[21] See, Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 126-139.

[22] Leon F. Litwack (North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 /Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961/, pp. 3-8) has pointed out the reasons for abolition of slavery in the North: geography, climate, ideology, type of economic system and protests of white workers who feared competition.

[23] For a discussion, see, Jordan, White Over Black, pp. 380-391.

[24] The American slave system differed from that in the Carribean and South America in the following ways: its geography did not allow the founding of maroon colonies; the planters were generally unified; most plantations were small and therefore controllable; and during the nineteenth century, there was a marked decrease in the importation of Africans. See, Eugene D. Genovese, "The Roots of Black Nationalism", in Old Memories New Moods, ed. by Peter I. Rose (N.Y.: Atherton, 1970), pp. 32-34.

[25] Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion (N.Y.: Oxford University, 1972), pp. 140-163.

[26] Samuel Shepard, The Statutes at Large of Virginia, Vol. III (N.Y.: AMS Press, 1970; 1835), pp. 108, 123, 377-378.

[27] Jordan, White Over Black, p. 398.

[28] Eric Foner, ed., Nat Turner (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 99-116.

[29] As quoted in, William Goodell, The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice (N.Y.: American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1853), p. 323.

[30] Stanley Feldstein, Once A Slave (N.Y.: William Morrow, 1971), p. 77.

[31] Foner, Nat Turner, pp. 43-44.

[32] For example, see, Feldstein, Once A Slave, pp. 67-75; John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community (N.Y.: Oxford University, 1972), pp. 60-64; James K. Turner, "Slavery in Edgecomb County", Trinity College Historical Papers, series 12 (1916), 32-34; John Cade, "Out of the Mouths of Ex-Slaves", J. of Negro History, 20 (1935), 328.

[33] Cade, "Out of the Mouths", p. 329.

CHAPTER III

REGIONAL LOCUS AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SLAVE AND FREEMAN

Up until the second decade of the twentieth century, most of the Afro-American population in the United States was situated within a Southern rural setting (see, Table 1). The first federal Census of 1790, counted 757,208 blacks, 91% of whom were in the South. Of this total, a little over 59,500 were free. From Table 1, it may be noted that of the total number of Negroes in the South in 1790, only 4.8% were free compared with 40% of the total living in the North. The percentage in the South did not change significantly in 1860 with only 6.2%. This was contrasted sharply by the North with 66.7%, an increase of over 25%. The South retained over 90% of all Negroes up to 1860 and well over 90% of these were slaves. Even in 1890, 85% of Southern blacks lived a rural existence contrasted with almost 35% in the North.[1] It seems, then, that most Afro-Americans prior to emancipation resided in a rural Southern atmosphere and most of these were slaves. The North had a significantly greater proportion of freemen, even in 1790, and generally its black population was

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urban based.

TABLE 1
NUMBERS OF FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1790 and 1860[a]

	1790		1860	
	No. (in thousands)	%	No. (in thousands)	%
Total No. in the U. S.	757		4,442	
Total in South[b]	690	91.0	4,097	92.0
Freemen	32	4.8	259	6.2
Slaves	657	95.2	3,838	93.8
Total in North[c]	67	9.0	345	8.0
Freemen	27	40.0	229	66.7
Slaves	40	60.0	116	33.3
Total Freemen in North and South	60	7.9	488	10.6
Total Slaves in North and South	698	92.1	3,954	89.4

[a] United States Bureau of the Census, *A Compendum of the Ninth Census: 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 14-17.

________, *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p.8.

[b] The South includes the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, D. C., Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

[c] The North includes all states not mentioned above plus the territories.

Religious instruction of the slave was tantamount to education, for in such cases, the individual was taught to read the bible. Samuel Davies, as we have

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previously discussed, was quite energetic in this regard and took particular pains to procure religious books from England. He found the slaves in Hanover, Virginia, to be most avid students.

> I am told, that in almost every house in my congregation, and in sundry other places, they spend every leisure hour in trying to learn, since they expect Books as soon as they are capable of using them. Some of them, I doubt not, are excited to it by a sincere desire to know the Will of God, and what they shall do to be saved. Others, I am afraid, are actuated by the mean principles of curiosity, ambition, and vanity.[2]

Curiosity seems to have been the main force behind Frederic Douglass' gravitation toward learning. As a youthful slave in Baltimore, Douglass became inquisitive after hearing his mistress read the Bible. He boldly asked her to teach him which she did with a great willingness. When her husband discovered this affair, he promptly forbade it, noting "that the thing itself was unlawful; that it was also unsafe, and could only lead to mischief."[3] With an unabiding urge to read, Douglass later utilized the instructive capacities of his white playmates to further his schooling.

The Davies and Douglass episodes represent just two of the numerous accounts of both slaves and freemen receiving an education from either religious organizations, manumission societies, formal schools or even their masters.[4] The scope of real education for the Afro-American

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is a very complex study, for despite the presence of harsh laws against their instruction, many were educated. Olmsted reports a conversation with a Mississippi planter who never even heard of laws against the instruction of slaves. All twenty of his charge could read, being taught by one in the group.[5] Generally, much of this depended on the character of the master and the nature of the community in which the slave lived. In some cases, the planter taught the slaves himself and used them to keep track of the plantation's business. Birnie suggests that this was in keeping with the English aristocratic ideology that a gentleman should never engage in such affairs.[6] Underlying the degree of education which the Afro-American received, was the political and social milieu of the times which dictated the content of the slave codes and their enforcement.

A certain amount of this social background has already been alluded to. We know that there were laws as early as 1740, in South Carolina, which fined those who taught slaves up to 100 pounds. The law did not include freemen. The American Revolution instigated an interest in the rights of man, whether he be white or black. Despite the presence of such laws as that in South Carolina, the period following the war saw a concerted effort, by both the North and the South, to educate slaves and freemen. Such statesmen as Ben Franklin and John Jay actively supported such endeavors and there were philanthropists who organized schools for blacks.[7] Most of those involved were, in one way or another, abolitionists who first of all wanted the complete suppression of slavery. Educating the slave was a step to his responsibility in the whole of society. It appears that their efforts were, for the most part, successful.

The Afro-American, during this period, petitioned for manumission based on the consequences of the Revolution, a development which did occur in the North but not the South. The French Revolution aggravated these circumstances and gave many Afro-Americans the taste for freedom. Concurrent with this thinking was a change in Southern attitude which reached the proportions of a panic with the slave revolt in Haiti and various insurrections in the United States. Planters feared for their lives and the destruction of Southern economy. This widespread fear signaled the passage of stricter laws to control the assembly of slaves and freemen. Old laws were now enforced. Restrictions were placed on preachers who had been thought to breed discontent in the black community. And it was forbidden to teach both slaves and freemen to read and write. This not only went hand in hand with religion as a control but an attempt to block the success of

Abolitionist newspapers and books.[8] Ignorance bred servility.[9] The South Carolinian law which forbade the teaching of slaves was now changed, in 1800, to include freemen. Law-breakers could receive corporal punishment of up to twenty lashes.[10] There was a widespread fear of freemen in the North as well. For instance, following the Nat Turner uprising of 1831, a group in New Haven denounced an all-Negro college as undesirable to the community.[11]

The degree of education which the Afro-American could receive seems to have been based on the public attitude towards him. In times of peril, social considerations went against the instruction of even freemen. In such an environment, for those who desired an education, the only step was clandestine. Many attempted to learn and teach their contemporaries under the threat of certain death. Slave accounts portray such individuals as highly motivated persons who learned to read by any means possible.[12] To obtain their goal, hundreds fled to the North. In fact, Woodson makes the point that around 1840, there were more literate blacks in the South. Due to escapes, however, the balance tipped in favor of the North.[13] Despite the presence of many educated slaves and freemen, the masses of blacks remained illiterate. Statistics demonstrate the development of only small

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inroads into the educational system. Of the total free black population in 1850, 21% of those aged 20 years and over were unable to read and write, while in 1860, this number dropped to 19%.[14] In 1880, almost twenty years after the Jubilee, 70% of all Afro-Americans of ten years of age and over could not write. The highest percentages were in the South, with Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and North Carolina leading with 81.6%, 80.6%, 78.5% and 77.4% respectively. Northern states averaged around 27%. For those born between 1860 and 1870, over 64% were unable to read in 1880, 9% less than those who were born prior to the war.[15] In 1870, more than 81% of those who were ten years and older were unable to read.[16] In the ten year span from 1860 to 1870, the illiteracy rate dropped over 11%. The conclusions which may be drawn from a comparison of these figures is two-fold. Probably over 81%, perhaps near 85% based on the 1870 figures, of the Afro-American population was illiterate prior to emancipation. Most of the literate during the antebellum period were freemen, either fugitives or those given manumission. It may be said, finally, that the freeman population represented a potential upper class structure for blacks whose ability to rise in the social system increased subsequent to the war. Further, as shall be pointed out in a later chapter, the increase in literacy among Afro-Americans rested with this group while the blacks in the rural South remained, for the most part, illiterate.

There is also a rural-urban contingency which is interrelated to the degree of education received by the Southern Afro-American. There were more opportunities for freemen and slaves to obtain an education in an urban setting.[17] In such an environment, the potential to control blacks was minimized by the particular social milieu of the city. On the plantation, the slaves could be localized and watched more closely, but both slaves and freemen, the former with or without special permits, mingled freely on city streets. Here was an opportunity to make contacts, learn the news of the day and establish liasons for educational or other secretive purposes. The grog shops served as a focal point for both free and bonded blacks and for many individuals at all levels of white society. The shops were owned by whites who encouraged the trading and selling of stolen goods and the pleasures of life. They represented a gathering center for blacks as did also the churches and the private homes of both freemen and whites. The city fathers did all they could to prevent such occurrences but with very little success. Slaves could learn to read and write through private tutors who were either freemen or whites. When opportunities to openly meet were blocked, the gatherings became clandestine. Woodson points out that in Southern urban areas, the freemen took an important hand in the education of his fellow man.[18] Many formed their own schools. This was unlike the situation in the North where manumission and other philanthropic societies took the lead. During the last 30-40 years of the antebellum period, despite a great deal of opposition, blacks in Northern cities had increasing opportunities for education.[19] It seems that from all reports, freemen and slaves in urban settings tended to have better educational opportunities. The testimony of two former slaves seems to summarize the dichotomy between the rural and urban environments. Lewis Clarke, an escaped slave, said of the plantation blacks in Kentucky,

> I never saw more than three or four that could properly read at all. I never saw but one that could write.[20]

Noah Davis, a minister from rural Virginia who had purchased his freedom, arrived in Baltimore quite astonished at the educational advancement of the urban dwellers,

> When I came among the colored people of Baltimore, I found, to my surprise, that they were advanced in education, quite beyond what I had conceived of. Of course, as I never had such advantages, I was far behind the people.[21]

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NOTES

[1] An urban population is defined as a place having 2,500 or more inhabitants.

[2] As quoted in, Pilcher, Samuel Davies, p. 110.

[3] Frederic Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom (N. Y.: Dover, 1969; 1855), pp. 145, 155.

[4] For example see, Feldstein, Once A Slave, pp. 61-67; Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds., The Negro in New York (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana, 1967), pp. 63-64; C. W. Birnie, "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, prior to the Civil War", J. Negro History, 12 (1927), 13-21; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 202-203; John H. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1913), pp. 137-145; Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861; A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from The Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War (2nd ed.; Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1919).

[5] Frederic Law Olmstead, A Journey in the Back Country, 1853-1854 (N. Y.: Schocken Books, 1970; 1860), pp. 143-144.

[6] Birnie, "Education of the Negro", p. 20.

[7] See, Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 51-121.

[8] For instance see, Russell, The Free Negro, pp. 143-144.

[9] Birnie suggests that many slaves, in urban settings, desired to read and write solely to forge their names to travel permits ("Education of the Negro", pp. 20-21).

[10] Goodell, American Slave Code, pp. 319-320.

[11] Litwack, North of Slavery, p. 124.

[12] For example see, Douglass, My Bondage, pp. 154-155; Austin Steward, Twenty-Two Years a Slave and Forty Years A Freeman (N. Y.: Negro Universities Press, 1968; 1856), pp. 130-131.

[13] Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 235-236.

[14] Percentage figures taken from tables in, Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 235-240. For an interesting numerical description of literate freemen in North Carolina, see, John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1943), pp. 169-170.

[15] United States Bureau of the Census, Compendum of the Tenth Census of the United States, Part II: 1880 (rev ed.; Washington: Governement Printing Office, 1888), p. 1650.

[16] ibid., pp. 1650-1655. This percentage is not entered in the census. It was derived by calculating the percentage of the Negroes who were ten years and younger in 1880 by subtracting the number of persons ten years and older (pp. 4, 601, 207) from the total black population. This percentage (30%) was used as a constant in figuring the number of persons aged ten and under in 1870 and finally the percent of illiterates.

[17] For instance see, Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860 (London: Oxford University, 1964), pp. 80-93, 173-177; Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 122-150.

[18] Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 128-144; Birnie, "Education of the Negro", pp. 18-19.

[19] See, Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 113-152; Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 144-150.

[20] Lewis and Milton Clarke, Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke (N. Y.: Arno Press, 1969; 1846), pp. 104-105.

[21] Wade, Slavery in the Cities, p. 174.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE SLAVE AND FREEMAN

The basis for social stratification among Afro-Americans had its rudimentary beginnings in slavery. There were two primary levels of distinction. One lay between the house servants and the ordinary plantation field hand and the other among the freemen. The differences between these groups rested with a number of factors including education, occupation, color, social standing with whites, and economic security. The structure of this hierarchy together with these variables, is not entirely as clear-cut as one would wish. One interesting source of confusion was the relationship between freemen and slaves which was dependent upon state laws that legally separated the two groups.

HOUSE AND FIELD SLAVES

Slave accounts offer an excellent source of information on social distinctions between plantation slaves. The first level of stratification seems to have been whether the slave was a member of a wealthy or poor man's plantation. The former could provide better accommodations, clothes and food. Further, the poorer masters had only one or two slaves at the most and thus, could never support a family of house servants. The latter, then, were more or less a manifestation of the better plantations where they had definite roles distinct from the work of the field slaves.

The house servant stood apart from the field hand in the type of clothes worn, the construction and spatial arrangement of his living quarters, general demeanor and attitude, degree of education, treatment, work load, and nourishment. Peter Randolph, an ex-slave, remarked on these characteristics.

> When the slave-master owns a great many slaves, ten or a dozen are always employed to wait on himself and family. They are not treated so cruelly as the field slave; they are ~~better~~ fed and wear better clothing... These slaves eat from their master's table, wear broadcloth and calico; they wear ruffled-bosomed shirts, too....[1]

The house servants felt a sense of superiority to the field hands. They were raised with the master's children and much of the time grew up in the big house.[2] These servants, garbed in the clothing of their master, represented the model of decorum and conduct within the slave community. Steward related that

> House servants were of course, "the stars" of the party; all eyes were turned to them to see how they conducted, for they, among slaves, are what a military man would call "fugle-men." The field hands, and such of them as have generally

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> been excluded from the dwelling of their owners, look to the servant as a pattern of politeness and gentility.[3]

Elizabeth Kilham described the appearance of field hands and house servants during the War.

> The house-servants held themselves at an immeasurable distance above the field-hands, and would tell, with an air of superiority infinitely amusing, that, "dey nebber done no common work, dey was allus roun' de house, jes' under missis' orders,"....[4]

Olmstead observed that the comfortable homes of the house servants were of brick and stood near the master's house and the stables. He noted that several of the servants were mulattoes and for that reason, "are generally preferred for in-door occupations."[5]

The house attendants were the cooks, the housekeepers, gardeners, and general caretakers of the master's family and house. Some among them, or the most intelligent of the field hands, were selected as craftsmen or artisans. They were trained and educated in their craft, either for the plantation or hired out to others in the general community. On the one hand, the planter found it cheaper to train a slave in these matters than to hire a white laborer. And finally, such services could be rented to produce a steady income for the plantation.[6] The status of these artisans was second only to the most trusted of house-servants. Frederic Douglass indicated that a considerable number of crafts were

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performed on the plantation of his wealthy master. These included horse-shoeing, coopering, cart-mending and weaving and were available to all farms in the district. Each division of labor was headed by a craftsman who retained a number of assistants under him.[7]

The distinction between domestic and field slaves lay not only in the type of job, clothing, food and shelter with which each was provided but, perhaps more importantly, rested in a close contact with the planter and his family. By being around the master's house, waiting on tables and the like, the house servant learned of things which the field hand was barred from.[8] This degree of sophistication was also supported by a basic education which the domestic received as part of his occupation and which was unavailable to the other slaves. One master told Olmstead that the son of a favorite house servant received an education similar to that of a white child.[9] The servant eventually learned the trade of a machinist and later became an engineer.

The planter desired a separation between his domestic and field servants. It was to his benefit and protection to give the best treatment possible to those slaves who were closest to him. In the first place, it was a matter of retaining their loyalty and to have them act as a buffer between the master and the other slaves.[10]

It was not unusual for house servants to report runaway slaves or warn their masters of impending insurrections. The domestic slave remained loyal to the planter during the Civil War. While others ran away to the Yankees, the house servants stayed on. The planter took pains to make his servants presentable not only to his friends and guests but to those in the North who questioned the slaves' opinions of their condition. When the planter went North his most trusted servants accompanied him. They were to tell of their good treatment and well-being, portraying slavery as a decent institution.[11] A great deal of the reaction was generated by a need to make their situation as tolerable as possible, for by being close to the master their every move was under closer scrutiny than that of the field hand. Lewis Clarke, living with a most ruthless mistress, recalled how the domestic's life was always under utmost stress and strain.

> There were four house-servants in this family, including myself; and though we had not, in all respects, so much hard work as the field hands, yet in many things our condition was much worse. We were constantly exposed to the whims and passions of every member of the family; from the least to the greatest their anger was wrecked upon us. Nor was our life an easy one, in the house of our toil or in the amount of labor performed. We were always required to sit up until all the family had retired; then we must be up at an early dawn in summer, and before day in winter.[12]

But there was also present an identification with white ideals, manners and values. This was the case in

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those situations where the servant was treated fairly and with kindness. Kindness bred loyalty. This relationship went much deeper for it was common for white children to be raised and nursed by a black mammy. Moreover, the children of both planter and servant grew up together, sharing a great deal of the common experiences of youth. In each case, a close bond formed between slave and master. The consequence of such an interlocking loyalty and mutual respect was better treatment for the domestic slave. It is interesting to note that most of the slaves who had been manumitted were house servants. The field slave, on the other hand, was not able to take advantage of such relationships, for he was rarely allowed in the house and many were only half-acquainted with the master. The net result reflected itself in a social distance between the two slave groups which sustained a notion of superiority in the domestic servants.

THE FREEMEN

The class distinctions existing between the freeman and slave were not as clear-cut as that between domestic and field servants. For one thing, the relationship was confused by state laws which were designed to separate the two groups. Such laws forced freemen to marry within their own circle and made it unlawful for them to associate with slaves. The basis for these statutes lay in the fear that freemen would instill the notion of insurrection in the slave.[14] Despite these laws, as discussed previously, there was a great deal of social intercourse and marriages between slaves and freemen were quite common.[15]

The occupations of freemen included many of those handled by slave artisans such as blacksmithing, coopering and gardening.[16] There were a number of others, among which barbers and the owners of boats were the most financially secure. Because of the nature of their occupations, a good number lived in or proximate to the towns and cities. Around a quarter of the freemen lived in urban centers in Virginia, while only a tenth of the white population did so.[17] Another reason for this urban trend lay in a competition with plantation slaves and the planter's general dislike of the presence of freemen. As many as 25% were unemployed in these rural areas. In the cities, freemen fared much better and were favored, even over slaves, for jobs. Russell suggests that the freeman could work for less wages and be more easily adaptable to irregular work habits. They were successfully competitive with poor whites who could not work as cheaply and refused to take jobs in which freemen were employed. Consequently, many of the trades were totally dominated by them.[18]

Although Russell has suggested that both slaves and freemen were on an equal social footing, there did exist a difference in status.[19] For instance, slaves did not like to work with freemen because the latter received a wage, while they obtained nothing. After the war, those slaves freed by emancipation were called "new Isshy (issue)" to distinguish them from the free Negroes. Dodge reported that marriages between the two groups were uncommon due to social standards but this seems inaccurate when Russell's work is examined.[20] It was quite common for freemen to marry slaves even when there were laws to prevent it. Dodge may actually have been referring to the better class of freemen.

The free aristocracy were those with a good family background and who owned property and, in many cases, slaves. The highest development of class distinction grew in urban areas with New Orleans being perhaps the most famous of all with its "Creoles of Color." William Johnson, a wealthy barber from Natchez, Mississippi, looked with disfavor upon his apprentices if they attended "Darkey Balls."[21] These affairs were held by slaveholders as a reward for their loyal servants. Freemen were allowed to attend but Johnson remained aloof from such gatherings. It seems that some even looked down upon certain members of their own class. Juilius Melbourn, who was a well-to-do free Negro from North Carolina, remarked,

> The manners of this latter class (the free Negroes) were rude and vulgar and most of them were licentious and vicious in their habits.[22]

The wealthy freemen of Charleston, South Carolina, formed an exclusive society in 1790, which retained its character into the twentieth century. The organization set high standards for eligibility and required a $50 entrance fee. Those who did not conform to the rules of good conduct and meet the set standards, were dropped from the rolls.[23]

The wealthiest freemen were the owners of commercial property and farms.[24] In 1860, there were 1,202 free Negro farm owners in Virginia. Of these, about 22% owned farms which consisted of over 75 acres. The largest ones performed such lucrative industries as hog-, corn- and tobacco-farming while a smaller number had wine- and honey-making. Some freemen received income from both farming and a second occupation. One of the richest large-scale farmers of Goochland County, Virginia, was Jacob Sampson. He owned a 535 acre farm which produced, in 1860, 400 bushels of wheat, 1,500 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oats, 2,000 pounds of tobacco and six other products. He also ran a tavern and owned slaves. In the city, freemen property owners ran the gauntlet from shopkeepers such as grocerymen and restaurant proprietors to owners of livery stables. The latter were among the wealthiest in urban areas. Freemen had almost exclusive control of the barber trade and were counted among the most educated and financially secure.[25] Barbershops served, along with taverns, as centers for meeting-places where people socialized or made business deals. William Johnson of Natchez, owned and operated a number of shops in that town from the 1830's until his death in 1851.[26] He also held farm land, two dozen slaves and employed a number of whites. Johnson was respected by the whites in his community and only associated himself with certain freemen, all of whom were land and slave owners.

The one major advantage of being a freeman was a chance to acquire property and concomitant wealth. The law gave no more rights to freemen than to slaves. With wealth came the respect of the white community which opened the way for a number of opportunities. For such an individual, the community was less bound to enforce the law and consequently, many received a decent education. The Brown Fellowship Society of Charleston, South Carolina, was told that the recent law prohibiting the assembly of more than seven Negroes did not apply to them since their meetings were in order and of the highest quality.[27] As long as these upper class groups knew their social

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distance, they could survive quite comfortably in their surroundings.

Distinct social classes were also present in Northern urban areas, in perhaps a more highly developed stage due to better opportunities.[28] It was mentioned previously that the center for educated blacks shifted to the North after 1840, making up in quality for what the North lacked in numbers. In the Northeast, there were Negro doctors and lawyers, two very rare occupations for blacks in the South. The presence of a highly accessible educational system allowed upper class blacks to send their children to colleges. By 1852, blacks had entered a number of schools of higher learning and medical centers.[29] In Philadelphia, it was reported that members of the upper class were interested not in an education for practical means but for status.[30] The freemen of Philadelphia were the leaders in the establishment of literary and reading societies with an eye on the stimulation of educational progress.[31] Prior to the Civil War, nine societies had already been formed.

In summary, it should be emphasized that not all freemen or favored domestic servants became part of the middle and upper classes. Our point is that these groups had the best potential for realizing vertical mobility and success in American society.

NOTES

[1] Peter Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to Pulpit* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1893), p. 160. See also, Douglass, *My Bondage*, pp. 109-110; Wilbert E. Moore, *American Negro Slavery and Abolition* (N. Y.: The Third Press, 1971), pp. 130-131.

[2] E. Ophelia Settle, "Social Attitudes during the Slave Regime: Household Servants Versus Field Hands", *Racial Contacts and Social Research* (Publications of the American Sociological Society), 28 (1933), 96-97.

[3] Steward, *Twenty-Two Years*, pp. 31-32.

[4] Elizabeth Kilham, "Sketches in Color", *Putnam's Monthly*, n.s. 5 (1870), 206.

[5] Frederic L. Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (N. Y.: Dix and Edwards, 1856), p. 421.

[6] Sterling D. Spiro and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (N. Y.: Columbia University, 1931), pp. 5-7.

[7] Douglass, *My Bondage*, p. 67.

[8] Francis Frederick, *Autobiography of Rev. Francis Frederick of Virginia* (Baltimore: J. W. Woods, 1869), p. 15.

[9] Olmstead, *A Journey in Seaboard*, p. 427.

[10] Settle, "Social Attitudes", pp. 95-98; Feldstein, *Once A Slave*, pp. 163-164.

[11] Randolph, *From Slave Cabin*, p. 161.

[12] Clarke, *Narratives of the Sufferings*, pp. 15-16.

[13] Blassingame, *The Slave Community*, pp. 167-169, 191-193, 200-201.

[14] Franklin, *Free Negro in North Carolina*, pp. 183-188.

[15] Russell, *Free Negro in Virginia*, pp. 131-132.

[16] For discussion, see, David Dodge, "The Free Negroes of North Carolina", Atlantic Monthly, 57 (1886), 20-30; Franklin, Free Negro in North Carolina, pp. 121-162; Luther Porter Jackson, Free Negro Labor and Property Holdings in Virginia, 1830-1860 (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1969; 1942), pp. 70-101; Russell, Free Negro in Virginia, pp. 149-154.

[17] Russell, Free Negro in Virginia, pp. 14-15. It is worthwhile to note Franklin's comments on North Carolina whose urban freeman population was only 10% in 1860. This was due, however, to the rural nature of the state. All other Southern States seem to have had a relatively high urban-orientated free population. (Free Negro in North Carolina, pp. 18-19).

[18] Russell, Free Negro in Virginia, pp. 148-149; Jackson, Free Negro Labor, pp. 64-67.

[19] Russell, Free Negro in Virginia, pp. 130-132.

[20] Dodge, "Free Negroes of North Carolina", pp. 28-29.

[21] Edwin Adams Davis and William Ranson Hogan, The Barber of Natchez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1954), pp. 57-58.

[22] As quoted in, Franklin, Free Negro in North Carolina, p. 183.

[23] E. Horace Fitchett, "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina", J. of Negro History, 25 (1940), 144.

[24] For discussion see, Jackson, Free Negro Labor, pp. 127-136, 155-160, 239-251.

[25] ibid., pp. 97-98.

[26] Davis and Hogan, Barber of Natchez.

[27] Fitchett, "Free Negro in Charleston", p. 145.

[28] For discussion see, Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 178-186.

[29] Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, pp. 276-277.

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[30] [Joseph W. Wilson], *Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Merihew and Thompson, 1841), pp. 95-97.

[31] Dorothy Porter, "The Organized Educational Activities of Negro Literary Societies, 1828-1846", *J. Negro History*, 5 (1936), 556-566.

CHAPTER V

THE SLAVE BELIEF SYSTEM

Religion has been defined as, "the putative extension of men's social relationship into the non-empirical realm of the cosmos."[1] It consists of two parts, belief and ritual. Because ritual is an action oriented reflection of religious belief, it can only include these events which are wholly conceived as communicating with or effecting the non-empirical world. Through the method of ritual, the group reaches back into time to re-establish themselves with their ancestors and the creators. In this manner, they may continually reincorporate these powers into present time. And because the creators give life and happiness, ritual magically brings their life-force to the living. Once the ritualistic practices disappear, the ability to effectively communicate with the pantheon becomes disrupted and the good life disintegrates. If the religion is to survive, at least to some degree, its structure must be altered and its practices and theology re-adapted along lines which will sustain it in the face of outward pressure and dissecting forces. This dilemma was faced by the African in the New World.

To a people who believed in a complete harmony, order and balance within their environment, the particular conditions of American slavery must have been totally antithetical to all reasoning and rationality. As a result, many committed suicide during the middle passage. Even more so, to remove a people from their homeland which was cathectized with sacredness, was to separate them from their ancestors and the hope for a good life. As Mbiti has said, "People walk on the graves of their forefathers, and it is feared that anything separating them from these ties will bring disaster to family and community life."[2] Slavery, due to a dominant society which was unwilling to accept a people who believed in a daily religion, relegated to the African only a single day of ritualistic expression. But the most difficult parameter to extinguish in a people, is their philosophical notions of Being, the nature of man and the orientation of the universe. This is acceptable, if we remember that slaves were not brainwashed to another philosophy for the first hundred or so years of their residenee in North America. In fact,their masters were not willing to accept them as Christians at all. Nor did they want them to be truly African heathens, performing their native rituals anytime of day and night. The slave was left in limbo. It will be our thesis, that the Afro-American

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Christian, during the institution of slavery, maintained an African philosophy within a loose Christian liturgical framework.

For the African, religion is an absolute. It encompasses every fact of his existence to such an extent that there is no line drawn between the sacred and secular.[3] Being is religion. It is one and the same thing, a way of life in which exists a hierarchy of relationships that includes God, the spirits, man, animals, plants, and objects. They are interlocked together in a carefully placed balance and harmony in which man must be aware to maintain. It is the order of things. A disturbance in one area is reflected in another of the structural whole and must be rectified through placation of the Gods. The basis of this lies within the likes of a universal force, power or dynamic energy which threads itself through every fiber of the system. From God comes the power of ultimate being; the spirits give the power to make the rains, for magic and for man's own life-force. Animals, plants and "things" have a power which can be activated by man or the spirits for magical purposes. This power can be used for evil or for the good and is set in motion by a motivating force, the "word." Words, incantations and chants, much of the time in conjunction with sacrifices, bring the forces to action so that they can work for man. When the African makes a tool, when he cultivates his crops or when he participates in war, he uses those proper words which will bring power to his endeavor and strengthen it. Words will bring to bear those particular forces which will make his crops grow and protect them from destruction. If they do not, then he has broken a taboo which is against the society and the balance of things and which must be remedied by other sacrifices and words.

The African concept of time is such that emphasis is placed on the past and the present. It is two-dimensional, only proceeding, at the most, six months to a year into the future. The past is significant because it is where the great events of their culture took place and more importantly it is the residence of their ancestors. The ancestors have power, a life-force - called magara[4] by the Bantu - which they can give to the living. In a family, the oldest living member is the wisest and has the most power due to the fact that he not only is closest in time to the ancestors but has been receiving their life-force since he was a child. When a child is born, he is the result of a biological union of body and substance and a small amount of life-force. A family's ancestor may give this force to many new born, not only one. This is similar to the phenomena of rebirth in Christian theology but, in this case, the dead may instill the force into many and,

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therefore, are "reborn" a number of times. This is why the ancestors must be placated and is the reason they hold so much influence. For the living consistently appeal to them for magara throughout their lives. And this is why ritual and ceremony is so important. Ritual brings the living into close contact with their ancestors and the spirits, which extend back to the beginning of creation. By appealing to them, they bring their presence from the past into the present and by doing so, fill their own lives with the very essence of universal, everlasting power and strength. They ask for a good life with its necessary energy to overcome their enemies and succeed in their destiny. Consequently, the older the individual, the more magara he may have due to the longer contact he has had with the ancestors. The Yoruba believe that each man is born with a destiny but instead of accepting this life statute, man is able to maintain or change his fate through sacrifices by appealing to the oracular divinity, Orunmila.[5] Thus, one opts for more life-force to maintain his happiness and if he is "dissatisfied," as for instance during a grave illness, he may wish to amend those taboos he broke to alter this situation. The breaking of taboos lies at the core of all difficulties. To amend his wrongs, the individual invokes the Gods and offers libations. Consequently, if he survives the illness, he was successful

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in changing his destiny of an early death. Happiness and a good life is uppermost in everyone's mind.

Death does not carry with it the connotation of destruction or a total disruption. After death, as long as the individual's name is remembered, he is part of what is referred to as the living-dead. Death, therefore, brings one closer to the ancestors, to the great powers of the past who give living man his strength and happiness. To be among them carries a sacred quality itself. And in death, because the individual will have herculean energy and force, he will be all powerful and equal the heroes of the creative time. For the living, the ancestors and all Gods, become personal and immediate. They are departed relatives and friends who once were like the living. Through ritual, they can be brought back to present-time, to give sustenance to mankind.

From what has been said, we may conclude that the African believes in a total universe where, through a hierarchy of personal relationships, he must strive for a life of happiness by maintaining a harmonious existence with all these forces. The question now before us, is what happened to all of this in the New World? There has been a great deal written on African retentions in the Americas, where the carry-over of customs and practices have remained even up to the present time.[6] We know

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progressively less about the religious practices of the slaves as we travel back in time beyond the Revolution. There is little doubt that in the seventeenth century, most slaves were non-Christians and for reasons which we have already discussed, there generally was not a large conversion rate among them until the First Great Awakening. Prior to the revivals of the middle eighteenth century, the Afro-American appears to have been between two worlds. On the one hand, the total pattern of his tribal rituals was disturbed and under stress and on the other, he was barred from a full and free participation in Christianity. This was quite unlike the situation of his contemporaries in the Caribbean and South America or wherever the Catholic Church predominated. In these circumstances, the African retained a great deal of his religious practices. Bastide has suggested some of the reasons for this dichotomy in a discussion of the effect of Protestantism and Catholicism on the African.

> In the latter /Protestantism in the United States/, the Negro was not accepted as a member of the church until he had undergone a very thorough course of instruction. Missionary work, therefore, was carried out in depth, and this led to the eradication of "Africanisms".... A slave would reinterpret Protestantism, or the Bible, in the light of his own mentality, sentiments, and affective needs; what emerged was a Negro (rather than an African) brand of Christianity. In Catholic America, on the other hand - perhaps because Portuguese or Spanish Catholicism was...a social rather than mystical phenomenon - the newly-arrived slave needed only to learn a few prayers or ritual gestures to be granted baptism....[7]

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Bastide continues by indicating that this approach allowed for the survival of African cultural elements in the Caribbean and South America. In North America, under British rule, a great number of these African features were lost.

If we acknowledge the truth of these observations, can we do so with consideration to the worldview of the people in question? From the evidence which can be gathered, it appears that the African conceptualizations of harmony, magara, time, and the "word" seem to have remained intact. It is certainly true that slavery disrupted the harmony of their old environment and severed them from their ancestors. But it is also true that they perceived the entire world to be holy and the waterways, hills, mountains and the like in the New World must have held some mystic sense of proportion just as in Africa. There is an early reference (1680) to slaves holding dances on Sunday for the procurement of rain, an event of such importance to them that they had also asked permission for a similar festivity during the week.[8] Likewise, they must have sensed that the God of Christianity held a great amount of power and force and should be respected. It is a well-known fact that many African Kings became baptized and adopted Christ into their pantheon.[9] The basis for this lay in the belief that the more Gods attached to the religious superstructure, especially those of a seemingly powerful nature, the stronger the source for power, strength and a rich and full life. And the Christian pantheon must have seemed powerful, for it appeared to have made their masters strong and rich, while they were slaves. Prior to the great Revivals, the slaves knew something of the rudiments of the Bible through contact with their masters. They acknowledged that if God and the prophets were successful in delivering the Israelites, these figures could act as power symbols for them as well.

But for decades, most slaves were unable to participate in Christianity until the First Great Awakening. Now thousands of them flocked to the revivals to hear the message of salvation for all, even for their lot. Many writers have discussed how this attitude, in addition to the informal nature and relatively unstructured educational process of the Baptists and later, Methodists, attracted the slave. They have further described the similarities of total immersion in the Baptist faith to the high African regard for water spirits.[10] All of these factors are undoubtedly true. But if the fact is accepted, as this writer tends to do, that the slaves' outlook on life was basically African in nature, then we can argue that the Revivals acted as a means for the

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blackman to seek magara and impose some order on his life through the Christian hierarchy of the supreme being, Jesus, and the prophets.[11] This, then, was the central attraction offered by the Great Awakenings.

And the slave needed God to do just this - restore harmony to his life. Perhaps if he had gained full access to the rights and fruits of life enjoyed by white society, this African philosophy may not have survived. It represented an alternative and as a result Christianity functioned as a loose framework for these beliefs. The slave understood the intentions of his owner and the use of religion as a social control with its over-riding cliche, "obey thy master." Many began to believe that there were two Bibles, one which God sent and that which was their master's. Slaveholders were accused of betraying the very trust of God. Even in those situations where blacks were allowed to attend some form of service, either their master's or their own in which a white chaperon presided, there existed a great amount of dissatisfaction. In such cases, the proper mood could not be attained which was conducive to invocation of God. Many times, the slaves would steal into the woods or hold secret meetings at one of their cabins. They took great pains to conceal themselves and minimize any noise.[12] The fact that these meetings were secret demonstrate that

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the slave was looking for something else in religious expression which he was unable to find with white religion. In the presence of whites, he was unable to express himself in the proper manner for the magara. His needs and attitudes were different. It may be argued that these clandestine gatherings were held so that the truth from the Bible could be preached. And this certainly may have been part of the objective but when one looks closer at the context of the situation, keeping in mind the basic African attitudes involved, it is much more than this.

It is through the invocation of God that the slave made an effort to restore normalcy. As we have discussed, this was accomplished through the "word," the central motivating force which moves power. That force which exists in the ancestors, the spirits, and all else lies dormant unless activated by man through words. It is a directive quality which underlines man's basic intelligence and vision for a good life. For every event, whether it be war, marriage, the naming of a new-born, planting and harvesting the crops or building a tool, words induce power to flow to strengthen or instill life-force into the object. When one feels down - or in terms which indicate his magara is at a low ebb - he will motivate power from his ancestors to strengthen himself. Similarly, the Afro-American, needed power to restore

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his magara and within the facade of a Christian church, invoked the force of the Lord, Jesus and the prophets through prayers, chants and the Spirituals. Christian Gods replaced those of African descent. Within the Christian church, invocation attempted to bring about a rebirth to a new life. The basic concept was deliverance and this is emphasized in the Spirituals. The songs stressed those elements in the Bible which dealt with deliverance and the exploits of the Hebrew children. Salvation became equated with personal freedom. By invoking the names of Biblical heroes and the Lord, the powers of these spirits would be brought to bear, through sympathetic magic, in delivering the slave. The Spirituals are filled with such examples.[13]

Little David was a Shephard boy,
He killed Goliath, and shouted for joy.

Joshua was the son of Nun,
He never would quit till the work was done.

Didn't ol' Pharoah get lost,
Yes tryin' to cross the Red Sea.
Creep along Moses, Moses creep along,
Creep along Moses I thank God.

Daniel pray'd in the lion's den,
Cut out the mountain without hands.
Spite of all those wicked men,

Read about Sampson from his birth,
He was the stronges' man on earth,
He lived 'way back in ancient times,
He killed about a thousan' Philistines.

He's a mighty good leader,
Jesus Christ God's son.

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Invocation for a real salvation was not a vision for the future or in the hereafter. It was immediate. African time accentuates the past and the present. Little regard is given to the distant future. The individual, then, does not want to be called by the Lord - as expressed by Christian theology - but calls God and the spirits to him in present-time. The African does not want to wait for a better life. The effect of the contemporary Missionary Christian Church in Africa supports this reasoning. Mbiti, in a discussion of the basis for the emergence of independent African churches, has pointed to "time" as being one force in this separation. The African is dissatisfied with promises of a future heaven, because they,

> ....need to see it realized "immediately" for it to have a real meaning. They cannot conceive the possibility that the end of the world is an ultra-historical myth which cannot be fitted into the immediate conceptualization of individual men and women.[14]

And this was the case with the slave. Through words, i.e., the Spiritual, magara and strength for a better life would flow from God. Sin was not the reason for praying, as many still lived mundane lives. Although you may have been a "sinner" in the accepted sense, you were only a real sinner if you doubted the faith of God. And this is what Radin meant by, "Doubt became the sin of sins."[15] "Doubt" symbolized the negation of a rebirth and the

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chance for complete happiness.

The idea of change and transformation - the symbol, "death" - from one state to another is remarkably vivid in the songs. In many cases, death moves one not necessarily to heaven or hell, in the Christian sense, but to another life.

> Some Sweet day after 'while
> I'm goin' up to see my Jesus.
>
> Hell is deep and dark despair.
> I'm goin' to lay down my heavy load.
>
> Wish I's in heaven settin' down,
>
> Soon-a will be done with this trouble of this world
> Going to live with God.[16]

Jahn describes slavery as an initiation rite in which its transgression would result in a rebirth. Through the religious service, this reorientation could be had immediately by calling the powers of God and the Biblical heroes to action.

> Salvation and liberation form an inseparable unity, and come about not some time in the future or in the next world, but here and now through ecstasy, which snatches them from the future into the present, so that they liberate and save the individual for as long as the ecstasy lasts.[17]

The idea here is that salvation is had at a particular point in time and subsides after the event terminates. At once, it is salvation and liberation. In such circumstances, the pain of slavery dissipates and happiness ensues through communion with God and the Hebrew children.

Consequently, through the ecstasy of the moment, the initiation period becomes shortened. By re-enacting the exploits of the Israelites in song, their own suffering would be terminated through sympathetic magic.

This reliance on immediate power was indicative of a people who believed that religion actually held the key to a radical transformation in the existing order. Just as the slave received the joy of happiness during his religious services, he expected the power of God to effect a real change in his social condition. Carrying God with him in the fields brought a sense of liberation. As we shall see subsequently, many who were completely converted, feared nor hated no one. They were reborn. But equally, the slave carried the magic of God with him as he escaped to the North or during an insurrection. This is why planters feared the preachers. Preachers had been at the core of many revolts, such as, Nat Turner, who received a vision that he was to destroy the slaveholders. During the Stono Revolt of 1739, more than 60 slaves went on a killing spree. They assembled in a field and to the sound of drums, danced and sang. General Oglethorpe's account states that they did so, "to draw more Negroes to them...."[18] Perhaps a better interpretation lies in seeking the power and strength of God to support their cause. We may say, then, that religion is Being, not self denial. It is, at the same time, now-oriented and otherworldly.

It is, at the same time, now-orientated and otherworldly but only in so far as one can have the power of a full life. Religion was at the very core of a revision in the social order, not only because the African was a very religious person but also because he had no other alternatives to effect change. Levine is quite right when he says,

> Those who have argued that Negroes did not oppose slavery in any meaningful way are writing from a modern, political context. What they really mean is that the slaves found no political means to oppose slavery.[19]

Consequently, the slave used religion to change all avenues of his life. Through the ecstatic event, he would not only have immediate salvation but gain strength to sustain him in the by-ways of everyday living and thus seek fulfillment.

There is a deeper meaning to the ecstatic event. Many slaves became converted to "Christianity" and in this sense, ecstasy became permanent. With permanency came total salvation and freedom. Spirituals represented the means to bring together the powers of God and the Bibical heroes; conversion was its outcome. A complete conversion symbolized a rebirth. Much of our understanding of conversion is derived from a study of visions or what are referred to as, "conversion experiences."[20] In such experiences, the individual sees himself on the brink of hell but being helped along the path of faith toward heaven, i.e., to a rebirth. Such a mental state may have

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been induced during religious services, seen in dreams, during an illness or at work in the field or at home. They were very personal in that God worked on the individual to meet his needs. And just as in the spirituals, the omnipotent powers became intimate friends with the believer. Almost invariably, the vision contained an opposition of the old and new life which may be described as being a Dualistic realization of man, something not found in white conceptualizations.[21] In these instances, the new body - symbolized by "little", meaning a newly born spirit - is shown looking down on the old which now rests at hell's dark door (the old life).[22] The individual is depicted as dying but is reborn again with a different orientation. The description of "death" in these visions is significant.

First of all, "death" in the African concept of the word, represents a contact with the "ancestors" (in the case of Afro-American concepts, Bibical heroes) and because they hold a great amount of life-force, to be an "ancestor" is to have an unlimited amount of this power and therefore, eternal happiness. Bantu philosophy describes the origin of a human being as a dual process in which biological life unites with spiritual life (magara).[23] Upon death, both

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his biological and spiritual life cease to exist. Spiritual life, in this case, represents that which is part of man while he is alive. What remains is his soul, which can exist as an "ancestor." This condition is referred to as, "human beings without life." The reference to dying in the visions symbolizes the contact with the Supreme Being and "ancestors" which in essence represents a renewal of magara and may symbolically be equated with deliverance. Usually, there must be a number of experiences before a full conversion or restructuring of life occurs. With each vision, or when the individual participates in a religious experience, he approaches conversion and gradually becomes stronger with the life-force. When conversion is finalized, a complete rebirth has taken place and the old life is "dead." An individual, therefore, can be reborn while on this earth. He does not have to die first in our accepted sense of the word. And when his corporal body does leave him, nothing is changed, for his old life has been "dead" already. Those who have been reborn, in this way, seem completely readjusted. They feel a sense of joy and love, having no more worries or trials. No hate is expressed towards anyone including their masters. Some feel a great sense of strength and believe that God is protecting them from bodily harm. It appears that their life has been repatterned and that those problems and pains of everyday existence as a slave can have no effect on them. They have extracted themselves from this life and live totally in another. For spiritual reinforcement, these people will continue to attend church, absorbing more and more life-force and strength.

Conversion, then, encompasses a sense of salvation which is essentially timeless, in which the slave becomes permanently fixed in a new life with God. In heaven, there is no materialistic reward for earthly suffering as depicted in Christian theology. Rebirth is the reward. Most African religious philosophy denotes death as a continuation of earthly life in which there are no rewards. According to Mbiti, "Although the soul is separated from the body it is believed to retain most, if not all, of the physical-social characteristics of its human life."[24] But if this philosophy was applied to the Afro-American, then the slave should maintain his social condition even after death, i.e., he would continue to be a slave. However, this is totally unrealistic for African philosophy just as was the outright acceptance of American slavery as a permanent way of life. The point is that slavery was never an accepted social condition and the African believed himself to be in a rite of passage from which he would emerge into something that resembled a newly ordered and harmonious community. Some spirituals indicate the receipt of new clothes in the hereafter.[25]

> I've got a robe, you've got a robe,
> All God's children got a robe;
> When I get to heaven, goin' to put on my robe,
> Goin' to shout all over God's Heav'n.
>
> I've a crown up in the Kingdom,
> Ain't that good news!
>
> King Jesus built me a house above.

And there are similar connotations in the conversion experiences.[26]

> I looked and I was all dressed up. I had a golden crown on my head and sandals on my feet and a long, snow-white robe covered my body.
>
> When I knew anything I was all dressed in white. I had on a long white robe. I had on a golden belt about my waist and golden slippers on my feet.
>
> While I was in the mansion I saw a beautiful white bed, and one man came and made it for me and turned and said to me, "That is Yours."

Jahn has summarized the supposition of materialistic rewards in the hereafter. They actually represent gifts or, "status symbols given to the initiate by the Lord, i.e., the high priest or the ruler of that real community of living people which the initiate will enter after the ordeal of his 'death period'...."[27]

In the foregoing, it has been suggested that the Afro-American, by being in a state of religious limbo, fell back upon his African traditional heritage as an alternative to the dissecting nature of slavery. It should be remembered, however, that there were a variety of

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conditions in which the Afro-American found himself. The response which we have touched upon becomes complicated when applied to the whole of black American society. It is difficult to resolve the nature of the attitudes of many freemen who resided in the North as far back as the seventeenth century and who, to some degree at least, became part of the fabric of American society. Likewise, the members of the plantation servant class maintained a better position vis-à-vis the field slave. And there were a number of black overseers and slave owners. The response we have discussed, therefore, is most apropos for the masses of slaves who worked the fields. In a situation such as slavery, there is always bound to be a variety of reactions. This all may seem quite an obvious conclusion, but it has great importance for the presence of African philosophy versus Christian theology as we proceed further into the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century. During these periods, we find the establishment of a firm class system - which had its beginning in slavery - and definite changes in attitude. The upper black eschelons, in their attempt to grativate to white middle class society, changed the approach of their religious services to conform to standard white patterns. It seems that in this situation, Christian elements and philosophy surfaced, burying the African idology. But even in the lower class, it becomes difficult to asses the presence of Christian elements in the spirituals and gospel songs relative to those of their forefathers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In this regard, it is noteworthy to point out that after emancipation, many did not wish to sing spirituals due to their slave connotation. We further find, a gravitation to the newer gospel songs by the young.

When emancipation arrived, its relationship to the year of the Jubilee and connotation of deliverance, secured for the slave what he had always prayed about. Now there were other things to consider and the attitude surrounding deliverance lost much of its meaning due to the end of slavery. At the time of emancipation, many new songs appeared which portrayed the new found freedom and the joy over the Jubilee. Blacks hoped for full acceptance into the mainstream of American society but this was not to occur. Events in the South produced a re-enaction of slavery with its controls, segregation and caste system. The result was much frustration for black leaders and destitution for the masses of uneducated Negroes. The Northern migrations reinstilled a new hope in which a break with Southern society would offer a chance for full acceptance into the mainstream of American life. But again, the web of prejudice and indifference limited the

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extent of this trust. In each of these later historical periods, the separation of blacks from American society continued to sustain, in the masses, a distinct culture which had expressive elements derived from the period of slavery. And it is also true that the notion of magara and a life full of happiness continued but perhaps not with the same purpose as before. Instead of the religion and the music being used to invoke God for his help in a deliverance from bondage, it became employed for integrating the black community as a viable entity in American life. This may be seen, for instance, in the ghetto where the holiness church is a way of life for its people, helping them to survive the everyday indignities of their environment. Through religion and the ecstatic event, blacks could reinstate a life full of happiness with the power of God and by doing so, strengthen the fabric of their community as a means of surviving this world in the best possible way. This is not to say that the theological manifestation of their worldview continued to be totally African. It was not. But the underlying relationships of the purpose of the church was to sustain the integrity of the community through the invocation of God. Another trend lay in the upper eschelons of black society where the church experienced a secularization. In this respect, the church became more interested in social

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change. Minsters' sermons protested against the indignities suffered by their people and attempted to effect change through various channels. Instead of invoking God for power in promoting the good life, they became directly involved in a social protest toward reorienting white society to the needs of blacks. A further discussion of these problems will be presented in those subsequent chapters dealing with the black church in America.

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NOTES

[1] P. Lawrence and M. J. Meggit, eds., Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia (Melbourne: Oxford University, 1972), p. 8.

[2] John S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 35, 209-210.

[3] It is beyond the scope of this work to present a detailed discussion of this philosophy. For further details on African religions, see, Janheinz Jahn, Muntu (N.Y.: Grove Press, 1961); Mbiti, African Religions; Joseph Akinyele Omoyajowo, "Human Destiny, Personal Rites and Sacrifices in African Traditional Religion", J. of Religious Thought, 30 (1973), 5-15; Geoffrey Parrinder, Religion in Africa (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969).

[4] Magara refers not only to an individual's happiness and sense of well-being but also to his right to have such an existence. When one loses part of his magara or life-force, he must pray for a renewal of this power to regain his former self. No one has a right to reduce another's magara even if it was only coincidental. In such cases, the person implicated must help the victim regain his happiness. The Bantu magara is similar to the Ashanti Sunsum (K.A. Busia, "The Ashanti", in African Worlds, ed. by Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University, 1954), p. 197). See, Jahn, Muntu, pp. 110-112; _______, Neo-African Literature (N.Y.: Grove Press, 1968), p. 161.

[5] Omoyajowo, "Human Destiny", pp. 7-9.

[6] For example, see, Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (N.Y.: Harper, 1941); Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes, Georgia Writers Project (Athens: University of Georgia, 1940).

[7] Roger Bastide, African Civilisations in the New World, Harper Torchbooks (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 153.

[8] Morgan Godwin, The Negro's and Indian Advocate Suing for Their Admission into the Church; or a Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations (London: F.D., 1680), p. 33; as quoted in Dena Epstein, "Slave Music in the United States Before 1860", Music Library Association, Notes of, 20 (1963), p. 198.

[9] See, Jahn, *Muntu*, p. 117.

[10] For example, see, *Drums and Shadows*, pp. 117-118, 224.

[11] For a discussion of this thesis, see, Jahn, *Neo-African Literature*, pp. 155-165.

[12] In some cases, they would make an arbor of pine trees under which they would pray or lie prostrate in a hollow with their heads close to the ground to reduce any noise. Other groups hung up thoroughly soaked quilts and rags in the form of a room within which the congregation would gather (Cade, "Out of the Mouths", pp. 329-331). To light the path, a pine torch or even a lamp made from a snuff pan or bottle filled with grease, was used. The first person leaving for the meeting place would bend branches to point the way. The spiritual, *Steal Away*, was employed as a signal for a meeting. When held in a cabin, an iron pot, washtub or other large container would be turned up-side down. This procedure has been commonly thought to absorb noise, like wet quilts and rags, but recently, it has been suggested that it is a retention of an African custom where they were employed symbolically to obtain good health, prosperity and protection (George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1972), pp. 39-43). In the United States, the tradition took on an aspect of protection against being caught by the slaveholder.

[13] John W. Work, *American Negro Songs and Spirituals* (N.Y.: Howell and Soskin, 1940).
Little David, p. 124.
Tryin' to Cross the Red Sea, p. 208.
Daniel Saw the Stone, p. 120.
You'd Better Run, p. 93.
He's A Mighty Good Leader, p. 231.

[14] Mbiti, *African Religions*, pp. 306-307.

[15] Clifton H. Johnson, ed., *God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Ex-Slaves* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969; 1945), p. ix.

[16] Work, *American Negro*.
After 'While, p. 53.
Bye and Bye, p. 63.
Wish I's in Heaven Settin' Down, p. 95.
Soon A Will Be Done, p. 109.

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[17] Jahn, Neo-African Literature, pp. 162-163.

[18] As quoted in, Epstein, "Slave Music", p. 199.

[19] Lawrence W. Levine, "Slave Songs and Slave Conciousness: An Exploration in Neglected Sources", in Anonymous Americans, ed. by Tamara K. Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 125.

[20] Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., "Religion, Society and Culture in the Old South: A Comparative View", American Quarterly, 26 (1974), 399-416; Richard Raichelson, "The Religious Conversion Experience of the Plantation Slave as an Expression of Cultural Dynamics", unpublished manuscript (1972), 43 pages; Rawick, From Sundown, pp. 45-48; Johnson, God Struck Me Dead.

[21] Bruce, "Religion, Society and Culture", p. 406.

[22] For example see, Johnson, God Struck Me Dead, p. 150.

[23] Jahn, Muntu, p. 107.

[24] Mbiti, African Religions, pp. 211-212.

[25] Work, American Negro.
Going to Shout All Over God's Heav'n, p. 180.
Ain't That Good News, p. 195.
King Jesus Built Me A House Above, p. 227.

[26] Johnson, God Struck Me Dead.
Fly Open For My Bride, p. 66.
Golden Slipper on My Feet, pp. 112-113.
Little Me Looks at Old, Dead Me, p. 148.

[27] Jahn, Neo-African Literature, p. 157.

INTRODUCTION

On January 1, 1863, over four million Afro-Americans received their freedom from slavery. The immediate consequence was the detonation of hundreds of emancipation jubilees around the Northern states and wherever Union armed forces controlled Southern soil. Nevertheless, many thousands in the central regions of the South were not to hear of the government's proclamation until several months later. Black radicals and abolitionists had succeeded in their primary aim of emancipation but the years ahead were to be filled with setbacks and problems. The most difficult job was to handle the newly freed slaves, a circumstance which was not to be taken lightly. For here were several million persons who had known nothing of independence and the ability to work and function in a free society. Their lives had been dictated to them in all respects including the capacity of self-achievement. Essentially, they had to be instructed in these matters and therefore, the first hurdle was a basic education. Many ex-slaves were at a loss about what to do. They wandered aimlessly about, gathering around freedman's bureaus for food and clothes. At the war's end, a good number remained where they were - on the plantations of their previous owners - not knowing what to do. We have presented a pattern of caste and class in previous chapters which offered insight into the religion, education, and social status of the slave and freeman during antebellum times. It is now our interest to discover how these circumstances prevailed during reconstruction. If blacks were able to gain equal opportunities in education and economic security perhaps many of the old ways of religious practices and styles of singing would quickly become obsolete. That this was not the case is testimony to our main thesis which considers that generic change, as regards religious music, is most dramatic with education and an increased financial condition. As we shall soon observe, the masses of Afro-Americans remained in the same position as during slavery. They were free in name, not body. But progress was made and to think otherwise would be reactionary to those blacks as well as whites who attempted to promote benefits for the bulk of poor Afro-Americans.

CHAPTER VI

REGIONAL LOCUS AND EDUCATION

In 1860, as we have discussed in a previous chapter, 92% of all Afro-Americans resided in the rural South. This region was to retain the bulk of black Americans well into the twentieth century. From Table 2, it is evident that the variation in the Southern black population was only a fraction of a percent from 1870 to 1910. What population movement existed was a shift from rural to urban living but this did not involve a significant migration of Southern blacks to Northern cities. The urban shift was mainly intra-regional. From 1890 to 1910, the percent of Southern blacks in urban areas increased by 6%, while that in the North increased by 9%.

There has been much mystery surrounding the absence of a significant migration from the South to the North and West.[1] In the West, the use of Mexican and Indian laborers has been suggested as part of the reason but in such cities as San Francisco, where opportunities were much greater, few blacks were present and these were more prosperous than the average. When migration did occur, it was to the Northern urban centers where there already was

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TABLE 2
NUMBERS OF NEGROES IN THE NORTH/SOUTH AND IN AN URBAN/RURAL SETTING FOR 1870, 1890, and 1910[a]

	1870		1890		1910	
	in 1000s	%	in 1000s	%	in 1000s	%
Total No. in the U. S.	4,880		7,489		9,828	
Total No. in the South[b]	4,421	90.5	6,815	91.0	8,966	91.2
Urban[c]		(6.7)[d]	1,040	15.3	1,902	21.0
Rural			5,775	84.7	7,064	79.0
Total No. in the North & West[e]	432	9.5	906	9.0	1,083	8.8
Urban		(64.3)[d]	626	69.0	840	78.0
Rural			280	31.0	244	22.0
Total Urban in the U. S.			1,666	19.2	2,742	25.7
Total Rural in the U. S.			6,055	80.8	7,308	74.3

[a] United States Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129, pp. 58-59.

[b] The South includes the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, D. C., Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[c] "Urban" is defined as those towns/cities having a population of 2,500 or more.

[d] These percentages are for 1860 and were taken from Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Harper Torchbooks, Vol. I (N. Y.: Harper and Row, 1969; 1944), p. 183.

[e] The "North and West" include all states not mentioned in (b).

an established black community. But even in this setting where industrial developments had produced opportunities, the prospects did not attract blacks. Certainly, it may be argued that European immigrants met most of the needs of industry. Another argument may center on the desire to remain in the South where the way of life was familiar and easier to comprehend.[2] It must also be remembered that the masses of Southern blacks were once slaves and their ability to organize their own lives and to understand the possibilities offered by the North were unclear. Ironically, their roots were bonded to the very way of life which had enslaved them. Further, there was no inducement from those in the North as was to exist in the second decade of the twentieth century where a program designed to attract blacks in Northern industry was prominent. Perhaps also, emancipation may have persuaded most that better things were coming. But the period following the Civil War was wrought with strife, dissension, and confusion which returned the masses of Southern blacks to a condition similar to that during slavery.

On November 7, 1861 - the day of the big "gun-shoot," as the gullah people called it - the Union forces under Commodore Dupont captured the rebel fortress at Hilton Head and Bay Point, placing the Sea Islands in Union hands. Edward Pierce was sent by the government to supervise the plantations and organize a program for teaching and clothing the newly freed slaves. His inquiries were responded to by a New England abolitionist society which, on March 3, 1862, sent a number of their members to the islands. What ensued was a successful experiment in the education of the ex-slaves and the establishment of private black ownership for thousands of acres of land.[3] And as will be brought out later, these events resulted in some of the best collections and descriptions of spiritual singing of the period.[4]

Such abolitionist groups, as those who organized the Sea Islands at South Carolina, were the forerunners of what later became known as the "Freedman's Bureau."[5] The Bureau was established by the government in March, 1865, to aid war refugees - both white and black - for the duration of the insurrection and for one year following. Its operation was renewed until 1872. Their function was to feed, clothe, instruct, offer medical care, and establish fair wage contracts for Negroes. Although they met with success in the establishment of better economic conditions for blacks and helped the South regain some of its agricultural standing, their best efforts were in the realm of education. Between 1865 and 1872, more than five million dollars was spent toward the organization of public schools and such colleges as Howard University, Fisk University, the Hampton Institute, Atlanta University, and Storer College in the South.[6] As many as 9,000 teachers were working in Bureau schools by 1869 with most of them coming from the North. Not all their efforts were well-conceived, however. When the Bureau took over the public school system in New Orleans, which had been run free of charge, they disbanded this policy and instituted a tuition base. In effect, this closed a number of schools and forced many black children to drop out simply because their parents could not afford it.[7]

The Freedman's Bureau was not the only group which attempted to organize an educative system and aid the Afro-American in other ways. Missionary Societies and philanthropists set up funds for the establishment of colleges and secondary schools and continued their work when the Bureau was disbanded in the eighteen-seventies.[8] At times, this was accomplished with the help of the Bureau. For instance, Leland University in New Orleans, was opened in 1869 with a $65,000 grant from the wealthy New York shoe merchant, Halbrook Chamberlain. The Bureau helped with $17,500 and the American Baptist Mission Society gave $12,500. When Chamberlain died, he left $100,000 to the school.[9] A number of other philanthropists gave gifts to help with the education of blacks such as Mrs. Caroline Phelps-Stokes and Julius Rosenwald. Rosenwald worked specifically with Booker T. Washington for the allocation of funds in the construction of schools. When he died, in 1932, over 5,000 buildings had been erected and between 25-40% of all

Negro children who attended school in the South were in those built by Rosenwald.[10]

To be certain, if it was not for the conscious effort of many black people to demand better education and actively take a part in the development of the school system, much would not have been done. Their motivation was obvious - the betterment of all Afro-Americans - but this was not necessarily the case with other groups. As Franklin has written,

> While church philanthropy either served some recognized social need or supported agencies for the promotion of its own interests, the educational foundations usually were interested in stimulating the public to recognize certain existent needs as yet unfelt by society.[11]

These needs were centered on an effort to reestablish the economy of the South so that it could sustain a larger proportion of national taxes and produce a greater number of trained workers for Northern industries that had moved South after the War. The zeal of the American black for education was an impressive fact following the Civil War. Myrdal suggests that this focus on learning was not only part of the general American tendency toward education but a firm belief that it was the only means for self-improvement.[12] Although an education did not necessarily carry with it the increased social and economic mobility as was the case in white circles, it did seem to offer blacks some sense of satisfaction and hope of increasing one's status among his own people. Caste differences were impossible to circumvent. The teacher, in a black community, retained the highest status next to the minister. The Rev. Samuel J. Barrows noted this enthusiasm for education.

> The Negroes are showing their awakened and eager interest in education by the zeal with which they are embracing their opportunities. Everywhere I found in colleges, normal institutes, and district schools fresh, live interest. In some sections, the eagerness of the colored people for knowledge amounts to an absolute thirst. In Alabama, the state superintendent of education, a former Confederate major, assured me that the colored people in that state are more interested in education than the whites are.[13]

James Bryce, an English author and political leader, wrote that,

> ....they have a notion...that it is the want of book-learning which condemns the vast bulk of their race to live by manual labor, and that, therefore, by acquiring such learning they may themselves rise in the industrial scale....[14]

Reports were common with reference to sacrifices made by blacks to send their children to school and to help organize such institutions. When the collection of a tax for Negro schools in Louisiana was suspended after the War, 10,000 blacks signed a petition offering to pay a special tax to support the schools. Negroes established the first free schools in Arkansas through an educational association.[15] Barrows observed that it was common for the mother to work specifically toward accumulating enough funds to send their children to school. At the time, supposedly two-thirds of those at Tuskegee were being supported by their working mothers.[16] The classic example of self-help was the tour of the Fisk Jubilee singers in an effort to raise money for their schools. After seven years, $150,000 was raised, a part of which went towards the construction of Jubilee Hall.[17]

W.E.B. DuBois wrote, "Had it not been for the Negro school and college, the Negro would, to all intents and purposes, have been driven back to slavery."[18] Although this statement has a great deal of truth in it, we must evaluate the school system in the South to realize fully the extent to which blacks were educated. The quality of education for the Southern Negro was limited by a number of factors. Although emancipation brought with it the chance for a decent education, it also aggravated the white population, many of whom were totally against the education of black people.[19] They employed secret societies and legislative laws to keep blacks in their "place" and to suppress anything which would make them "uppity." The fear of the black vote and an impending destruction of white supremacy was widespread. Whites also considered that a greater competition for jobs would parallel a better system of instruction for black people. The ideology was to suppress those black radical elements which desired to change the order of things and support those who were accommodating. This dichotomy was suggested by those whites - actually most in the South - who by those whites - actually most of the South - who supported the "industrial" type of education in which blacks were trained for such jobs as domestics, carpenters, seamstresses, and shoemakers. These occupations were actually a continuation of those held by the slaves in the antebellum period. The South wished to continue a social configuration which exactly mirrored the days of slavery. The "classical" or academic type of education, which introduced blacks to the arts, sciences and intellectual pursuits, was generally distasteful to white Southerners. When the industrial revolution came to the South, white skilled workers protested vigorously about a possible conversion of Negro schools to instruct blacks in the new trades. The old handicrafts such as carpentry were becoming passé, even in agriculture. But the state legislatures did not channel enough funds into Negro schools for these new programs and consequently, the black worker suffered economically.

Another limiting factor for quality education lay in the uneven distribution of funds for schools and the training of teachers. Funds from philanthropic sources were not evenly balanced between white and black schools. Many Southern whites felt that blacks did not pay enough taxes to warrant an equal distribution of revenue for each segment of its population. In 1898, Florida spent $5.92 for the education of white children and only $2.27 for blacks. Adams county in Mississippi, in 1900, was spending $22.25 for each white child, while only $2 was ear-marked for black children.[20] There were cases where little or no funds or benefits were provided Negroes. Arkansas, in 1867, instigated an elaborate educative system but blacks were barred from its advantages.[21] At times this situation depended on the administration of the state. Between 1877-1880, the expenditures for both white and black students in South Carolina were equal but during the years following and up to 1895, twice as much was spent on white schools and almost three times more on white students.[22] Albert Hart, author and professor of History at Harvard, reported that Southern Negro schools were small, crowded, poorly constructed and the teachers generally lacking in competence. He observed that,

> As a matter of fact, thousands of negro children have no opportunity to go to school, because the commissioners simply refuse to provide a school in their district; perhaps because the number of children is thought too few; perhaps merely because they do not wish to spend the money.[23]

The teachers who taught in these schools were, for the most part, poorly trained. They were graduates of the various Negro colleges and secondary schools in the South which offered advanced degrees in name only. Facilities were generally inadequate. A government report, in 1917, stated that only 33 of the 653 private and state schools for blacks were teaching college level material and only

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Fisk, Howard and Mehary Medical College were of high standards.[24] The rest suffered from inadequacies in facilities and staff.

The existence of segregation at all levels was also an important factor in the poor quality of black schools. The school systems of Southern states were so formulated that blacks were placed in separate districts. In this manner, they could be dealt with using different policy formats regarding expenditures and building construction. For the most part, Negroes were not allowed into white institutions for higher education. Many blacks argued that segregation bred inequality and resulted in poor education for their people. A drive for full integration in New Orleans succeeded during the eighteen-seventies but this was not the rule in the South.[25]

The urban areas of the South retained many of the same attitudes of the rural regions but there were better economic opportunities and the educative system was more sound. Myrdal describes the basis for this as an integration of life, weaker regional traditions, a higher cultural level, and a more liberal attitude toward education.

> In the urban South, whites of the employing class do not have the same material interests in keeping the Negroes ignorant. They have rather to gain if their Negro servants and laborers have at least some education.[26]

Urban educational systems were present during the antebellum period, not as state run institutions but as outgrowths of interested citizens, private societies and the church. As a result, urban freemen received a basic education. Many of these schools were organized by freemen themselves. Thomas Bonneau of Charleston, South Carolina, operated a school from 1803 to 1828 which, for the period, was large enough to require a number of assistants.[27] Daniel Payne, who later became a bishop of the A.M.E. Church, was headmaster at one time.

Through perseverance and an education, many freemen gained a degree of status and financial standing in their community. Following the Civil War, these same people instituted private schools for their children. In some cases, this was due to the lack of a public school system which their children could attend and in others, a desire for a better system of education. For instance, the public schools of Atlanta did not maintain enough room for black children, forcing many of them to attend private institutions.[28] Morris Brown College - actually a grammar school - was the largest of this type with almost 1,000 students. But many others were held in private homes and supported by a tuition. In one such case, the teacher collected a dollar per month for each child. In New Orleans, a "Board for the Education of

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Freedmen," which had appropriations to systematically educate blacks, was formed in 1863. But there were 793 students attending private school in 1867 in a move toward a more thorough education.[29] Those schools which charged tuition catered only to the wealthier Negroes. The masses of blacks had to attend the public school system. The wealthier Negroes were also a source of revenue for the construction of public institutions for their own people and represented a significant force in those areas which received little tax money to support the education of blacks. They were also in a position to sent their children to Northern schools. To be sure, some urban areas had poor facilities while others were as good as any in the country. The latter was well represented by Charleston, South Carolina, which had an adequate tax system to support such schools and the public attitude was more positive toward the education of blacks.[29] In Atlanta, as late as 1903, Baker reported that, "Even with a double daily session for colored pupils, nearly half of the Negro children in Atlanta, even in 1903, were barred from the public schools for lack of facilities, and the number had increased largely in the last four years."[30] In the larger urban areas, though, the teachers were better trained and received a higher salary.[31]

The best evaluation of education for the Southern blackman during this period may be visualized from the government statistics for school attendance and illiteracy in both urban and rural areas. From Table 3, it may be noticed that in 1870, only 9% of those children of age, 5-18 years, were attending school in the South. This percentage increased to 32% in 1890 and to 47% in 1910. The South had made great progess in educating its black population and by 1910, the percentage of those attending rural schools was just 4% less than in urban areas (see Table 3). These figures were still significantly less than in the North which had about 38% in school in 1870, 39% in 1890, and 59% in 1910. The urban attendance was just about the same for rural students in the North.

Table 4 gives a breakdown for illiteracy of those Negroes aged ten years and over. If we consider that the South includes the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central regions, the illiteracy rate is around 19% greater than in the North for the age group 10 and 14 years. This percent difference increased with each older age group and peaked at 65 years and over with about 36%. The percentages listed in this table represent the percent illiterate of the total number in that group within a given region. Because the South had a far greater number of Negroes, it certainly had numerically more illiterates. This may be surmised from the total population figures

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TABLE 3
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NEGROES ATTENDING SCHOOL AND FOR ILLITERACY IN 1870, 1890, and 1910[a]

	1870						1890					
	School Attendance (ages 5-18)			Illiteracy (ages 10 & up)			School Attendance (ages 5-19)			Illiteracy (ages 10 & up)		
	of Total	No.	%	of Total	No.	%	of Total	No.	%	of Total	No.	%
North	132[b]	50	38	319	144	45	289	114	39	516	138	27
South	1,489	130	9	3,110	2,646	85	2,709	873	32	4,752	2,883	61

	1910					
North						
Urban	184	109	59	715	62	8
Rural	73	44	59	195	31	15
Total	257	153	59	910	93	11
South						
Urban	538	265	49	1,517	331	22
Rural	2,626	1,202	45	4,892	1,803	37
Total	3,164	1,467	47	6,409	2,134	30

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[a] United States Bureau of the Census, A Compendum of the Ninth Census (Washington: Gevernment Printing Office, 1872), pp. 452-455; ________, A Compendum of the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 278, 309; ________, Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129, pp. 99, 102.

[b] all numbers in thousands.

TABLE 4
ILLITERATES IN THE NEGRO POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

DIVISION AND STATE.	ILLITERATES IN THE NEGRO POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1910.															
	Total.[1]		10 to 14 years.		15 to 24 years.		25 to 34 years.		35 to 44 years.		45 to 54 years.		55 to 64 years.		65 years and over.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
UNITED STATES	2,227,731	30.4	218,555	18.9	450,720	22.0	380,742	24.6	351,856	33.3	334,930	47.0	269,584	68.0	219,285	74.5
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:																
New England	4,341	7.8	18	0.4	547	4.6	1,029	7.1	835	7.6	708	10.6	665	16.5	590	25.0
Middle Atlantic	27,811	7.9	297	1.0	2,665	3.3	4,737	4.6	5,758	8.1	5,787	15.5	4,290	25.1	4,129	36.4
East North Central	28,071	11.0	370	1.2	1,788	3.1	3,282	5.1	4,801	9.7	5,918	19.4	5,500	34.0	6,193	50.2
West North Central	30,436	14.9	732	3.6	2,427	4.9	3,387	6.9	4,764	12.8	6,490	27.3	5,928	46.3	6,334	63.6
South Atlantic	969,432	32.5	97,196	18.9	208,434	23.4	166,058	27.9	152,962	36.3	142,637	51.0	108,023	66.4	91,829	77.1
East South Central	681,507	34.8	66,209	20.7	141,996	24.9	116,990	29.1	106,120	38.1	103,706	54.1	95,778	70.0	66,616	80.8
West South Central	483,022	33.1	53,803	22.4	104,077	24.4	84,817	27.4	76,034	38.1	69,000	50.6	48,871	66.8	43,003	78.1
Mountain	1,497	8.0	20	1.6	146	3.9	237	4.3	303	7.2	291	12.4	250	35.8	227	41.6
Pacific	1,614	6.3	10	0.6	130	2.5	220	3.2	283	4.7	343	10.1	269	20.4	334	36.7

From: United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 101.

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in a given age group. For instance, in the sixty-five years and over bracket, the number of illiterates in the South was 92% of the total in the United States. In the 10-14 year bracket, it was 99%. In Table 3, the percentage of illiterates in urban and rural regions, in 1910, is denoted in the age group ten years and over. As can be seen, the percent of illiterates in the rural areas is much higher than in the cities of the South. The number of illiterates in the urban South is 84% of the total number in the United States and in the rural South, 98%, of the total.

In summary, by the end of this period - 1910 - most illiterates were in the South with around 22% in urban centers and 37% in rural areas. There was approximately

8% illiteracy in Northern cities and 15% in rural areas. Numerically, around 90% of all Negro illiterates in the United States lived in the South. Through the period of Reconstruction and up into the 1880's, Negro education in the South was poor. It is true that school programs became better and illiteracy decreased but in 1910, a significant percentage of Southern blacks were illiterate, especially in the rural areas. It is evident from the tables that the educative system was much better and more inclusive in the North. One of the main reasons for this was the presence of a compulsory system of public education and an equal distribution of funds. Further, most of the black population resided in the cities where the positive characteristics of the urban centers of the South were even more magnified. It is true that, although the schools were technically integrated, the cry for segregation was common and there were formal white protests against those laws which supported integration.[32] Nevertheless, the North maintained a head start over the South as indicated by its low illiteracy rate.

NOTES

[1] For discussion see, Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Harper Torchbooks, Vol. I (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1969; 1944), pp. 185-191.

[2] George Robinson Ricks, "Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro", unpublished PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1960, pp. 48-49.

[3] Elizabeth Ware Pearson, ed., Letters from Port Royal: 1862-1868 (N.Y.: Arno Press, 1969; 1906), pp. iii-xv.

[4] For example see, William A. Allen, Charles Ware and Lucy Garrison, Slave Songs of the United States (N.Y.: A. Simpson, 1867); Pearson, Letters; C.L. Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands", Atlantic Monthly, 13 (1864), 587-596; Charles Nordhoff, "The Freedmen of South Carolina", in Civil War Pamphlets, 2 (1863); Edward L. Pierce, "The Negroes at Port Royal", in Pamphlets on Succession, 9 (1862).

[5] W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880 (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1969; 1932), pp. 220-230, 642-667; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 306-309.

[6] DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 226; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 308-309.

[7] John W. Blassingame, Black New Orleans: 1860-1880 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973).

[8] Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 382-389; Phelps-Stokes Fund, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bulletin No. 38, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 252-256, 275-282.

[9] Blassingame, Black New Orleans, p. 124.

[10] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (rev. ed.; N.Y.: MacMillan, 1957), p. 429.

[11] Franklin, From Slavery, p. 386.

[12] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, pp. 882-886.

[13] Samuel J. Barrows, "What the Southern Negro Is Doing for Himself", Atlantic Monthly, 67 (1891), 810.

[14] James Bryce, The Ammerican Commonweath, Vol. II (rev.ed.; N.Y.: MacMillan, 1912), p. 520.

[15] DuBois, Black Reconstruction, pp. 644, 658.

[16] Barrows, "What the Southern Negro", p. 812.

[17] For discussion, see, J.B.T. Marsh, The Story of the Jubilee Singers (rev. ed.; Boston: Houghton & Osgood, 1880).

[18] DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 667.

[19] For discussion see, Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, pp. 893-900.

[20] Franklin, From Slavery, p. 387. For a listing of such expenditures on white and black children for each Southern state in 1910, see, United States Bureau of the Census, Negro Education: A Study, Vol. II, pp. 27-675.

[21] DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 658.

[22] George Brown Tindall, South Carolina Negroes: 1877-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1966; 1952), p. 216.

[23] Albert Bushnell Hart, The Southern South (N.Y.: Appleton, 1910), p. 312. For another good description, see, Tindall, South Carolina, pp. 217-218.

[24] Bureau of the Census, Negro Education: A Study, Vol. II, p. 16.

[25] Blassingame, Black New Orleans, pp. 112-122; Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools during Reconstruction", American Historical Review, 67 (1962), 663-675.

[26] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 895.

[27] Birnie, "Education of the Negro", pp. 18-19.

[28] Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era, Harper Torchbooks (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1964; 1908), p. 53.

[29] Blassingame, Black New Orleans, pp. 108-109.

[30] Baker, Following Color Line, p. 54.

[31] Hart, Southern South, p. 313.

[32] For instance, there was a great protest in Chicago when a shift in school boundary lines resulted in integration based on an 1874 law. (Allan H. Spear, Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920 /Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967/, pp. 44-45).

CHAPTER VII

THE BLACK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The general social and economic structure which existed during the antebellum period became more differentiated after emancipation. There were two general patterns which were continued. Those slaves which lacked an education - essentially this included most Afro-Americans - continued as part of the untutored and poor masses of blacks after the War. In rural areas, they remained on the old plantations as sharecroppers or unskilled laborers with very few owning their own farms. In the cities, both North and South, they crowded into ghettoes living in the worse housing and taking the lowest paying of jobs. Many freemen of the antebellum period, i.e., those who at least had some degree of standing in their community, experienced an increase in economic security and social mobility. Class structure in the black community became more stratified and involved to varying degrees, land ownership, color, family, free ancestry, education and occupation.[1]

Color was perhaps the most important characteristic of upper class standing, at least up to the First World

War. A majority of freemen during slavery were mulattoes. In many cases, they were the offspring of the planter and his slave mistress. These women were house servants, being favored by the master because of their lighter skin. At times, these illegitimate children were given their freedom and educated. They later grew to have wealth, property and social standing in the community. In the South, at the turn of the century, there was a rural upper class and an urban upper class distinguished from other groups by color and to an extent by occupation. All had either white skin or white types of hair which, according to old members of the class, was the main distinguishing trait.[2] It is probably true that William Johnson, the Natchez barber, was the offspring of such a union.[3] His master first emancipated the mother, her daughter, and six years later her son, William, all of whom were mulattoes. Light complexioned freemen grew to have a class of their own and regarded themselves as superior to the slaves and those of darker skin. They were in a favored position, having the distinguishing mark of freedom and as such were not placed side by side with the slave in the eyes of whitemen. Their tendency was toward white values and decorum, a circumstance which was favored in all areas of life. After emancipation, this favored status disintegrated but due to the fact that the freeman already had property, education and financial standing, they still retained their position in the Negro community. Many became leaders of their race, helping to establish schools and act as liasons between the white population and the black masses. It is probably no coincidence that the majority of Afro-American leaders, during this period, were mulattoes with perhaps Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois being the most famous. Color as a mark of status was believed in by darker Negroes and favored by white society.

Family ties and free ancestry were interrelated with color. Myrdal has said that, "...the typical Negro upper class person attaches more importance to family background than the typical Yankee."[4] He suggests that this attitude is a borrowing from the upper eschelon of Southern white society. The presence of free or white planter ancestry appears to have placed the individual on a higher status than the black masses who could only point to a background of slavery. The fact that the institution of slavery was only a generation or two removed from the turn of the century may help to explain the importance of ancestry and color. After a few generations, both became less and less important as a status symbol for the upper class. However, color retained its importance as a means of acceptance with white society. This is indicated by the gigantic Negro cosmetic industry which sold skin lighteners and hair straighteners.

In the rural areas of the South, a factor for higher status, besides family background, was land ownership, although this was not an exclusive trait.[5] Even during the 40 year period following emancipation, a majority of blacks did not own their land. The occupational hierarchy in rural segments of the country was agriculturally oriented but those in cities had a greater differentiation. This resulted in a more intense segmentation of the class structure but even in the larger urban areas, occupational ties to status was not such an important characteristic as it was to be in the second decade of the twentieth century.[6] It was rather the parameters of family, extent of education and respectability which were foremost.[7] Indeed, Myrdal suggests that the attainment of wealth and business success,

> ....mean so relatively little, and that general education and professional training mean so relatively much, as criteria for attaining upper class status. This is evidently not due to a lower valuation of wealth among Negroes than among whites....But there is so little of it in the Negro community.[8]

It is certainly true that if an individual could make more money, he was able to purchase a better home but occupation had nothing to do with intimate association when a physician would mingle with a plumber. The enterprising Negro who was a self-made man would have been regarded as an upstart by the upper class.

The study DuBois made of the seventh ward of Philadelphia, in 1896, is illuminating for a description of the upper class.

> Its members are not to be met with in the ordinary assemblages of Negroes, nor in their usual promenading places. They are largely Philadelphia born, and being descended from the house-servant class, contain many mulattoes. In their assemblies there are evidences of good breeding and taste, so that a foreigner would hardly think of ex-slaves. They are not to be sure people of wide culture and their mental horizon is as limited as that of the first families in a country town....Their conversation turns on the gossip of similar circles among the Negroes of Washington, Boston, and New York; on questions of the day, and, less willingly, on the situation of the Negro. Strangers secure entrance to this circle with difficulty and only by introduction.[9]

The amusements of this class of people included social clubs, bridge parties, balls, small social receptions, and the like which may be described as part of a "social ritual." There were national Negro fraternities and sororities which one could join only if he had graduated from a college. The literary societies of Philadelphia, formed in the first half of the nineteenth century, were part of the upper eschelon at the turn of the century as they were in 1837.[10] The upper class was, and continues to be, members of the wealthier Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Methodist Episcopal Churches all of which have had college trained clergy.[11] This class may further be characterized as owning their own well-kept homes which were in the best neighborhoods.

Others have reported similar circumstances in other urban areas. Brackett's description of the well-to-do in Baltimore centered on the degree of education as well as color and points out that this group had at first objected to sending their children to colored public schools.[12] Robinson emphasized the mulatto characteristic of the upper class in Washington.

> Then, again, there is the still higher class, who live in fine houses, and surround themselves with all the luxuries and refinements of life. They dress in the latest style, attend the influential churches, frequent the concert, lecture, and the theatre, and in every way seem to be quite the equals of the white people.
>
> The wealthier class are of the most part in pocession of a considerable sprinkling of white blood, which will account, not perhaps for their superior intelligence, but for the greater degree of rapidity with which they have adapted themselves to their great and sudden change of condition.[13]

The middle class was derived from freemen and enterprising slaves of the antebellum period but who lacked the degree of education, family background and direction of interest of the upper class. Many of this group were owners of small businesses and members of the various trades. They may be characterized as part of a group who originally did not have the benefits of established security similar to the upper class and had to work for it. Their aspirations were high and they believed totally in the necessity of an education for mobility. In Philadelphia, they amused themselves through church socials

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and excursions rather than theater and seasonal social balls. Their church affiliation would be Methodist and Baptist rather than Episcopalian and Presbyterian. Their homes would be well-kept but perhaps not as ostentatious as the upper class with all its formality.[14] Due to a lack of an adequate income, many members of this class might be found on the fringe or even surrounded by lower class housing.

The lower classes of rural Southern Negroes constituted the bulk of the Afro-American population. They were the least to benefit from emancipation and in many instances the symbol of freedom was in name only as these people found their condition to be similar to that during slavery. What emancipation did offer them was a chance to change residence and finally, during the second decade of the twentieth century, thousands migrated North. With them came a distinct behavioral style in attitudes and life. These cultural attributes placed them at a disadvantage, for they were looked down upon not only by whites but the established middle and upper class Negro families. But we do not have to observe the twentieth century for these reactions. The same patterns could be found in Northern cities even prior to emancipation where the established residents viewed the presence of Southern immigrants as detrimental to the community.[15] Part of this

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was due to social disdain but there also existed a fear of competition for jobs. Members of the lower class, whether they were rural or urban, fitted into a general characterization which included a lack of education, a slave family background, poor living conditions, absence of home ownership, and unstable or low paying occupations which resulted in a low economic standing. In the cities, they moved into overcrowded black neighborhoods and in rural areas, they either rented or sharecropped on a plantation. To be a member of a "shouting" church was regarded as having low status.

It is ironic that for several years after the Civil War, during which hundreds of blacks were murdered because of revenge and hatred, the South needed the black laborer more than it ever did. On the one hand, they desired to rid themselves of the black multitudes but then passed laws which forced the Negro to work. After the War, most Southern states passed codes which were in direct violation of the Federal law.[16] Part of this action was due to a fear of a black uprising but for the white planter, it secured for him the use of cheap labor to work his fields. Vagrancy laws were designed to force blacks to work and if he quit his job, the Negro could be arrested and jailed. There were restrictions on words and actions which were insulting to whites and the possession of firearms was

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forbidden. To eliminate the potential political power of the Southern black, he was disfranchised by laws which barred illiterates from voting and made it necessary to pay a registration tax. Of course, this eliminated some poor whites but when it is considered that 85% of the Southern black population, in 1870, was illiterate, Negroes were especially affected by this legislation. The defeat of a progressive school system was related to the necessity of keeping blacks illiterate and unable to vote.

The Southern tenant system was designed to secure a cheap labor force for the planter.[17] Its organization was such that it was similar to the old plantation system for it used white overseers and took measures to keep blacks on the land.

> Tenantry in the South is a very different thing from what it is in the North. In the North, a man who rents a farm is nearly as free to do as he pleases as if he were the owner. But in the South, the present tenant system is much nearer the condition that prevailed in slavery times than it is to the present Northern tenant system.[18]

When an individual approached a planter for work, a contract was drawn up between both parties. In many cases, the Negro did not understand its terms, leaving him open to disreputable practices by the landlords. For those wishing to force the laborer to remain in his service, there were many devices involving over-charging and under-paying to place the Negro in debt.[19] For a sharecropper,

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the landlord furnished the tenant a mule, plough, wagon, tools and certain supplies, all of which were offered at 10% to 30% interest. In return, the tenant was to give one-half of the crop to the landlord. At times, what he owed for the supplies bit deep into the tenant's share. Some blacks had enough finances that they could rent land but this was not commonly the case until several years following the Civil War. They too received their supplies from the landlord and if they could not meet their expenses, the cost was taken from their crop. Such tenants did not technically share their crop with the planter except to pay off a debt. Another type of tenant was the wage-earner who worked for a monthly sum and who lived in a cabin supplied to him by the landlord. Being itinerants, the overseers watched over them quite carefully.

As we have said, there was essentially no difference between the lower class of rural and urban Negroes as far as the economics and living conditions were concerned. One certain advantage in urban areas was better educational facilities and indeed Baker was told by migrants, in the early part of the twentieth century, that this was one reason they moved to Southern cities.[20] The other was for protection against white harassment. Those who did move North before the big migrations may have had hopes of better jobs, treatment and education. But the situation

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in the urban North was not as idealistic as they had wished. There is no doubt that due to the free public educational system, the rate of illiteracy diminished significantly but the chance to find a respectable job was difficult. In fact, this was the main complaint of Northern blacks.

> In the South the first answer (complaint) nearly always referred to the Jim Crow cars or the Jim Crow railroad stations; after that the complaint was of political disfranchisement, the difficulty of getting justice in the courts, the lack of good school facilities, and in some localities, of the danger of actual physical violence.
>
> But in the North the first answer invariably referred to working conditions.[21]

It was not the mere fact of employment that was a problem, since there were numerous jobs for menial laborers, but the ability to rise in position. The Northern ghettoes not only bred frustration from job opportunities but due to the crowded conditions, the mortality rate was very high. Because of the high standard of living, rents were exorbitant. But to make matters worse, landlords gouged their black tenants for more than they would rent to whites. These factors plus the peculiar pattern of urban existence developed a whole new set of problems in the North.

It should be emphasized that the upper and middle classes of black society tended to approach white ideals of behavior and values. It is difficult to clearly separate these groups as ideal types, especially in the

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case of the middle class. With the upper eschelon, this tendency is more apropos. Robinson, in fact, wrote,

> While in the Northern cities and towns they (the upper class) have almost lost their identity as a race - for their ways of living and acting and their general characteristics are so similar to those of their white fellow-citizens as to excite no comment whatever-....[22]

The lower classes, being separated from the fruits of society, retained the cultural patterns of old. These matters will be discussed at more length in a future chapter.

NOTES

[1] For a discussion see, Frazier, Negro in the United States, pp. 276-285.

[2] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, pp. 689-705; Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941), pp. 244-245.

[3] Davis and Hogan, Barber of Natchez, pp. 15-17.

[4] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 695.

[5] Frazier, Negro in the United States, pp. 278-279.

[6] W.E.B. DuBois (The Negro in the Black Belt, Bulletin of the Department of Labor, No. 22 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902]) observed that the upper class of Athens, Georgia, consisted of teachers, physicians, mail service employees, barbers, waiters, blacksmiths, a farmer, and a plumber among others, making quite a mixture of occupations.

[7] W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study (N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1967; 1899), pp. 310-311.

[8] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 694.

[9] DuBois, Philadelphia Negro, p. 318.

[10] Of the 13,591 "Free people of Color" living in Philadelphia in 1837, 261 belonged to five literary and debating societies. See, The Present State and Condition of the Free People of Color, of the City of Philadelphia... (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, 1838), p. 30.

[11] DuBois, Philadelphia Negro, pp. 213-218, 317.

[12] Jeffrey R. Brackett, "Notes on the Progress of the Colored People of Maryland Since the War", in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 8 (1890), 372-373. For a discussion of the upper class of New Orleans and its relationship to lower class blacks, see, Blassingame, Black New Orleans, pp. 152-162.

[13] F.L. Robinson, "The Colored People of the United States: in the North", Leisure Hour, 38 (1889), 699.

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[14] For instance see, DuBois, Philadelphia Negro, pp. 315-316, 320.

[15] Litwack, North of Slavery, pp. 181-182.

[16] For a discussion see, Baker, Following the Color Line, pp. 80-84, 97-99; DuBois, Black Reconstruction, pp. 434-444, 671-672; Franklin, From Slavery, pp. 303, 310-311, 338-339.

[17] For a discussion, see, Baker, Following the Color Line, pp. 74-77, 93-95; Thomas J. Edwards, "The Tenant System and Some Changes Since Emancipation", in The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science), 49 (1913), 38-46.

[18] Baker, Following the Color Line, p. 76.

[19] That this depended on the landlord is described by Alfred Stone, a Mississippi planter, who reiterated his honesty and that of others in dealing with the Negro (Studies in the American Race Problem [N. Y.: Doubleday & Page, 1908], pp. 81-147).

[20] Baker, Following the Color Line, p. 101.

[21] ibid., p. 130.

[22] Robinson, Colored People, p. 698.

CHAPTER VIII

REGIONAL LOCUS AND EDUCATION

REGIONAL LOCUS

In 1910, there were over nine million blacks in the United States, more than 90% of which resided in the South. Of this number, about 79% were living in a rural environment and pursuing agricultural occupations. Beginning in the middle of the decade, approximately, 500,000 Negroes migrated to the urban areas of both the North and South (see Table 5). An indicator of this shift in regional setting is seen in the decrease in agricultural jobs held by blacks. From 1910-1920, there was a drop of 10% in the farm labor force, from 54.6% to 44.2% respectively (see Table 6). By 1940, those engaged in agricultural pursuits numbered only 30% of the black population and by 1960, almost 10%. It is interesting to note that between 1910 and 1960, the number of Negroes employed in domestic services averaged about the same from year to year. It is equally impressive to note that in 1910, over 75% of the black population was engaged in either agriculture or domestic services, a clue to which

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TABLE 5
NUMBER OF NEGROES WITHIN URBAN/RURAL REGIONS OF THE NORTH/SOUTH IN THE YEARS, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, & 1960 (in thousands)

	1910[a]		1920[b]		1930[b]		1940[c]		1950[c]		1960[c]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total No. in U. S.	9,828		10,463		11,891		12,866		15,027		18,860	
Total in North[d]	1,078	11	1,551	16	2,530	22	2,961	24	4,805	33	7,548	41
Urban[d]	830	78[e]	1,309	84	2,228	85	2,638	89	4,491	93	7,193	95
Rural	248	22[e]	242	16	302	15	324	11	313	7	355	5
Total in South	8,749	89	8,912	84	9,362	78	9,905	76	10,222	67	11,312	59
Urban	1,855	21	2,251	25	2,966	32	3,616	37	4,880	48	6,608	59
Rural	6,850	79	6,661	75	6,395	68	6,288	63	5,342	52	4,704	42
Total Urban in U. S.	2,685		3,559		5,194		6,254		9,371		13,801	
Total Rural in U. S.	7,143		6,904		6,697		6,612		5,655		5,059	

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[a] United States Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129, p. 57.

[b] ________, Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 51, 53.

[c] Daniel O. Price, Changing Characteristics of the Negro Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 246-247.

[d] See Table 2 for a description of these regions.

[e] These figures represent the percentage of those within a given region, not within the whole of the United States.

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF NEGROES EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE AND DOMESTIC SERVICES IN 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1960 (in thousands)

	1910[a]		1920[a]		1930[a]		1940[b]		1960[c]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total No. employed in U. S.	5,193		4,824		5,504		5,005		6,099	
No. in agriculture	2,835	54.6	2,133	44.2	1,988	36.1	1,497	29.9	554	9.8
No. in domestic & personal services	1,121	21.6	1,063	22.0	1,576	28.6	1,117	22.3	1,318	21.6

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[a] United States Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the Unites States: 1920-1932, p. 290.

[b] ________, Sixteenth Census: 1940, Population, Vol. III, The Labor Force (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 88-90.

[c] ________, Eighteenth Census: 1960 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 101-102.

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were the predominately "Negro jobs". The percent decrease in agricultural jobs is also significant for it localizes the source of migrants.

The reasons for this exodus have been discussed by many writers.[1] The advent of World War I not only decreased the number of European imigrants to the United States but stimulated the production rate of Northern industries and opened new ones. Business concerns found themselves in need of a ready labor supply which they saw in the Southern Negro. Many sent recruiters to the South to induce the black laborer to come North. At the time, Northern industry paid between $3 and $8 a day for unskilled workers, while the South paid between 75¢ and $1.75.[2] The promise of a higher standard of living was one of the most common explanations offered by migrants for going North. Northern black newspapers helped to induce the Southerner to leave his home. The Chicago Defender was among the more vocal. They pointed out the injustices of Southern society and described the opportunities existent in the North. Emphasizing the poor treatment of blacks, one editorial wrote,

> Turn a deaf ear to everybody. You see they are not lifting their laws to help you, are they? Have they stopped their Jim Crow cars? Can you buy a Pullman sleeper where you wish? Will they give you a square deal in court yet? When a girl is sent to prison she becomes the mistress of the guards and others in authority....And your leaders will tell you the South is the best place for you. Turn a deaf

ear to the scoundrel, and let him stay.[3]

The South had its own economic problems which played a part in the migration. The Boll Weevil, in 1915, and drought, in 1916, had ravaged the cotton crop to such an extent that thousands of farmers were forced to switch to other farming products. As a result, large numbers of blacks were forced out of jobs. It took over thirty times as many laborers to work a cotton plantation as for food crops. Further, whites began to infiltrate previously traditional Negro jobs placing additional stress on a fledging black population. As Myrdal has stated,

> At least in a subjective sense - which is the important thing in discussing human motivation - the difference in desirability between South and North widened as Southern Negroes became more educated and came to kow the outside world better.[4]

The South, fearing a total drain of their labor force, attempted to avert large scale migrations. In Alabama, officials fined or jailed anyone persuading blacks to leave Montgomery.[5] Jacksonville, Florida, demanded that Northern recruiters purchase a special license for $1,000 or be jailed for sixty days and fined $600. Southerners began to appeal to Negroes and offer tham better wages and conditions. They even advertised in newspapers for their return. Despite their efforts, the migration continued. During the decade of 1920-1930, approximately one million more left to swell the ghettoes of the urban North.

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Another 750,000 did so in the following decade, making over two million who left the South in the thirty-year period following 1910. World War II stimulated another migration due to an expanding industrial war effort and the need for a labor force. During the decade, the urban North increased in size by almost 60%, gaining over one and a half million blacks. In 1910, 89% of all blacks were in the South. This percentage decreased in 1920 to 84%, to 76% in 1940, to 67% in 1950 and to 59% in 1960 (Table 5).

The movement of the Negro population was to the urban areas of both the North and South. The trend, then, was toward urbanization in all sectors of the country. It was most marked in the North due to its relatively small black population at the beginning of the migration. Between 1910-1920, there was an increase of over 470,000 in the black population of the urban North, while the urban South grew by over 390,000 in number (Table 5). Yet the net percent increase was 57% and 21% respectively. It is interesting to note that there was a decrease of the white urban population in the years between 1910-1920 relative to the previous decade, undoubtedly due to the stoppage of European immigration as a result of World War I. While there was a small increase of the white population in rural areas during the war years, due to the same circumstances, the black population in the rural regions of both the North and South decreased by 2.3% and 3.4% respectively. It may be suggested that although there was a general trend toward urbanization with regard to both races, the Negro population was most active in this direction. As discussed above, the economic differences between the rural South and the urban North, stimulated a marked exodus of black people from an agricultural environment.

Those urban areas most affected by the migration were those having a total population base of over 100,000. As Woofter has shown, during the war years, the black population of such cities increased by 89.4% in the North and 43.1% in the South.[6] Cities having between ten and 100,000 total residents grew by only 21.9% in the North and 18.9% in the South and in both sectors this was less than the increase for 1900-1910. Detroit experienced a 611% increase and Chicago, a 148% increase, during the war years (see Table 7). If one takes into consideration natural increase and migration occurring prior to 1915-1916, approximately 50,000 Negroes moved from the South to Chicago during the period 1915-1920.[7] The first wave of migrants crowded into the worst housing and near the vice infested district of the city. The resulting shortage of homes forced many to double up. Entire families were living in one room with rents rising as much as 50%. As a result, blacks

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TABLE 7
NUMBER OF NEGROES RESIDING IN SELECTED URBAN AREAS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 (in thousands)

	1910[a]	% increase 1910-20	1920[a]	% increase 1920-30	1930[a]	1940[b]	1950[c]	1960[d]	1970[d]
Atlanta	52	21.0	63	43.4	90	99	116	185	255
Birmingham	52	34.3	70	41.1	99	104	125	136	126
Chicago	44	148.2	109	113.7	234	268	490	816	1,103
Detroit	6	611.3	41	194.0	120	143	291	484	660
Memphis	52	16.7	61	57.8	97	115	141	184	243
New Orleans	89	13.1	101	28.4	130	142	175	232	267
New York	92	66.3	152	114.9	328	454	758	1,089	1,668
Philadelphia	84	58.9	134	62.6	220	240	364	521	654
Washington	94	6.4	110	20.1	132	179	273	413	538

[a] United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States: 1920 1932*, p. 55.

[b] ________, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1950* (71st ed.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 14, 55-56.

[c] ________, *County and City Data Book: 1952, A Statistical Abstract Supplement* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).

[d] ________, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1973* (94th ed.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 22-24.

encroached on white neighborhoods and during a three month period in 1917, 36 new areas were opened to Negro home buyers. In the decades following 1920, the black population of the largest cities continued to increase at a high rate. World War II produced a labor shortage and during the decade, the urban North increased its Negro population by 9%, the largest increase yet (see Table 5). Table 7 shows the numerical increase of selected cities in the North and South during the period 1910 to 1970. By 1960, 39% of all Northern Negroes lived in its four largest cities - New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit. In fact, 95% of all blacks resident in the North lived in urban areas compared with 59% in the South.

EDUCATION

With the trend toward urbanization in both the North and the South, came better opportunities in education. As suggested in a previous chapter, this was one reason why many chose to move into Southern urban areas prior to 1910 and it became a significant reason for migrating North during the war years.[8] In urban areas, the high concentration of people tended to reduce the tax dollar per child and also offered a better source of revenue. Despite this, the South continued, even into the 1950s, to impose a differential on the cost of white and black

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students and to sustain segregated schools. As shown by Frazier, the ratio of expenditures for white to that of black children has decreased but still favors the former.[9] More significantly, in those counties whose population contained a majority of blacks (90%), the expenditures for white children were as high as twenty-five times that for black children. These figures were for the 1920s but the same difficulties were found in subsequent decades, although the ratio continued to decrease with time.

The rural Southern region continued to maintain a poor school system for the Negro. In a study directed by Lloyd Warner, it was found that white county officials rarely alloted funds toward the construction of buildings nor the furnishing of school supplies for black children, yet did freely with white children.[10] The study suggests that even though the 1930 census reported around 30% illiteracy, they felt that the percentage was much higher. Some of those who were regarded as "literate" could only, "read their names and...calculate the value of their cotton". Further, white administrators did not wish to see the Negro receive a good education for fear they would leave the plantation system and become more independent. Essentially these attitudes were a carry-over from the seventeenth century and typified the conditions of education for blacks in the rural areas of the South.

The school year varied from four to six months based on the amount of funds available and the need for agricultural laborers.

Table 8 shows the increase in school attendance and the decrease in illiteracy for the years 1910 and 1930. Although the South progressed in each category, it still remained behind the North. In 1960, the number of blacks in Southern schools, between the ages of eight and thirteen, was similar to the North but was slightly less in the group, fourteen and older.[11] Beginning with the 1950 census, the Federal government determined educational advancement by counting the median number of school years

TABLE 8
PERCENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ILLITERACY OF NEGROES IN THE NORTH/SOUTH AND IN URBAN/RURAL REGIONS FOR 1910 and 1930

	1910[a,b]		1930[b]	
	% in school ages 6-20	% illiterate ages 10 & up	% in school ages 7-20	% illiterate ages 10 & up
North				
Urban	59	8.1	70.9	3.4
Rural	59	14.6	70.5	8.1
Total	59	11.4	70.7	5.8
South				
Urban	49	22.0	64.5	13.2
Rural	45	37.0	62.7	23.0
Total	47	30.0	63.6	18.1

[a] United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, Bulletin 129*, p. 99.

[b] ________, *Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932*, pp. 212, 233.

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completed.[12] In that year, the median for blacks in rural regions was 5.1 and in urban areas, 7.8 (completion of elementary school).[13] In 1960, these figures were 6.2 and 8.7 respectively. As late as 1970, only around 24% of all Southern blacks were graduated from high school compared with 48% of white students.[14] In the North, this comparison was 41% and 57% respectively.

It is true that the Negro was to find better educational opportunities in the North at all institutional levels; and the quality and quantity of education was superior. As indicated previously, the school year for rural Southern blacks may have been only four to six months long. The teachers in Northern schools were better trained but as Frazier has discussed, there was a cultural displacement.[15] The urban environment was so different that a re-orientation of the individual had to be effected before any progress at all could be made. Southern children were at a disadvantage due to the poor education they had previously received. Northern classes were more advanced and required a certain amount of discipline and rigor which was absent from the small, loosely run, one-room schoolhouses of the rural South. Back home, only Negro teachers taught Negro children. In many areas of the North, blacks attended school with white students and were instructed by white teachers who had no idea of how to handle cultural differences. Naturally, many students fell behind. There were a few Northern states which had completely abolished segregation, one of which was New York (1900). But there was a technical yet obviously social segregation by virtue of the existence of the ghetto. Children went to school where they lived and if the area was all black, the teaching facility was all black. The ghetto grew to be a manifestation of actual segregation which eventually became a city within a city where-in acceptance to the whole of urban society was minimized by racial prejudice. The educational standards were not as high as in white schools but equally the potential for realizing the economic advantages of the urban environment was diminished through the shuttling of blacks into the least desirable and most dangerous of jobs. The opportunity to gain decent employment with even a good education was problematic and if it is considered that the ghetto schools were far from superior, the social disadvantage becomes even more magnified. It seems, then, that segregation and poor educational facilities feed off of each other. As Clark has observed,

> But the educational crisis in the ghettoes is not primarily, and certainly not exclusively, one of the inequitable racial balance in the schools. Segregation and inferior education reinforce each other. Some persons take the position that the first must go before the second does; others, that the reverse is true. What is clear is that the problem of education in the urban ghetto seems to be a vicious cycle....[16]

In summary, it appears that the rural South, having most of the unlettered blacks, continued to lack an adequate program in quality education relative to urban areas, North or South. On the other hand, Northern deep ghettoes grew to have numerous problems which, although affording the child a better over-all instructive program, developed a different set of inadequacies which minimized the potential of urban blacks. It may be said, that although the rate of illiteracy decreased, the ability to gain a decent education which would prepare the child for further schooling and better economic opportunities was retarded. This was due to a lack of the necessary incentives and motivation needed to promote such an inclination and the concomitant wide-spread barrier against hiring Negroes. The uneducated Southern rural blackman became more sophisticated and educated in the North, but these barriers kept him from the benefits of American society. As a consequence, it is apropos to describe the black urban ghetto as a cultural group which was transplanted from the rural South and which over a number of generations changed, not in social mobility, but in a cultural viewpoint that mirrored their new surroundings.

NOTES

[1] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1922), pp. 79-105; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, Harper Rorchbooks, Vol. I (rev. ed., N. Y.: Harper & Row, 1962; 1945), pp. 58-64; Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. I, pp. 182-185, 191-196; Spear, Black Chicago, pp. 129-146; T. J. Woofter, Negro Problems in Cities (N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1928), pp. 26-33.

[2] Chicago Commission, Negro in Chicago, pp. 80, 84.

[3] ibid., p. 88.

[4] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol I, p. 191.

[5] Drake and Clayton, Black Metropolis, Vol. I, pp. 58-59.

[6] Woofter, Negro Problems, p. 30.

[7] Chicago Commission, Negro in Chicago, pp. 79-80.

[8] ibid., p. 82.

[9] Frazier, Negro in the United States, pp. 430-431.

[10] Davis, Deep South, pp. 417-419.

[11] Price, Changing Characteristics of Negro Population, pp. 194-198.

[12] For elementary school, there are 8 grade divisions; for high school, 4; for college, 4 or more; totalling 16 plus years. See, United States Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. xxi.

[13] ibid., p. 207. Note that the calculations are given for "non-white" of which Negroes constituted 92% of that total in 1960.

[14] United States Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1973 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 117.

[15] Frazier, Negroes in the United States, pp. 440-444. See also, Woofter, Negro Problems, pp. 175-177, 191-196.

[16] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, Harper Torchbooks (N. Y.: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 111.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DISCUSSION

There are a number of excellent descriptions and discussions of the Negro class structure during this period to which the reader is referred.[1] In a previous chapter, we have outlined the general parameters of these groups as they had materialized after emancipation. Consequently, a further discussion of them is not warranted at this time due to a similarity in overall design and tendency. Their characteristics will again be brought up in connection with the religious and musical patterns of the particular classes in a later chapter. However, there are some aspects of the problem, resulting from the change to an urban setting, which should be discussed.

Two of the distinguishing marks of the Negro upper class prior to the second decade of the twentieth century were color and family tradition. During the years of World War I, they were gradually replaced by an emphasis on education and economic position which surfaced due to the evolution of achieved social standing as a mark of mobility.[2] In the past, a plumber could easily have socialized with a physician as long as he could point to white ancestry and freemen in his family tree.[3] It became difficult to do so as the twentieth century wore on. In Chicago, an older upper stratum had been displaced during the 1920s due to this shift in emphasis. Although this group still recognized themselves as part of the upper class, the new members of this stratum did not socialize with them. Drake has put these matters in perspective.

> The upper class before the First World War was composed of the house servants of the wealthy, Pullman porters, succesful politicians, and a few business and professional men. Their common bond was social ritual and a concern with "culture" and getting ahead. Family background, light skin-color, and length of residence in Chicago were important class attributes. The Negro market created by the Great Migration resulted in the expansion of the business and professional classes who gradually displaced the Old Settlers as the "cream of society".[4]

In the South, this same shift in upper class characteristics also occurred but the reason for this may have been the emigration of lighter complexioned Negroes to the North.[5] As a result, brown-skined members of the middle class became the upper class. Although occupation and income became important as a mark of class standing, the amount of education an individual had was even more significant. As reported by Drake, the attainment of a college degree was a prize and education as a whole was important, "Because it reflects earning power, and more importantly because it denotes a broadening of intellectual horizons and tastes, it becomes a natural basis for clique groupings."[6]

Perhaps the most significant result of Northern urbanization has been the increase of mobility engendered from living in a freer environment. Despite the well-known problems of Northern prejudice and segregation in housing and occupations, the North did offer an expanding economic and a broader educational base for the Negro at all class levels. The difficulty which had been faced by the South - the etiquette of race relations[7] - was not such a formidable barrier in the North. Based on this situation, the black class structure in the North grew in scope and degree and became quite comparable to white society. In the South, the number of upper class members was very few due to caste difficulties which stood between the Negro and the better jobs. This may be observed in the professional class which was composed of about 50% ministers in the South.[8] In the urban North, only one out of ten professional jobs were held by the clergy. By nature of its needs, the industrial North required greater skills and was more open to black participation.

DISCUSSION

Up to now, we have described the regional setting and the features of education, economics and social structure pertaining to each of our three historical periods, in order to interrelate class structure with religious expression and musical style. The underlying theme has been to understand how social change can effect transitions in the Negro church. It is difficult to state definitively the defining features of each class nor its relationships with a particular form of church service, singing style or even choice of songs, a further discussion of which will be left for the next section. Our interest, rather, has been not to be absolute but to generalize matters to gain a better idea of social change and its importance in understanding the dynamics of Afro-American religious music.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, there was already a tendency toward class stratification which became fully developed in the following century. The upper levels of black society were actually between two worlds - the slave masses and the white community. On the one hand they gravitated toward the white system of values and attitudes, yet on the other, they were only categorized as a better variety of blackman. Their position was a precarious one but by the many accounts existant, they tended to emulate white standards. Some of this was due to a personal attempt to obtain power and status and thus, to some degree, equal the white class. The Southern white planter made a singular attempt to instill a sense of superiority and distinctiveness in his house servants. We have mentioned that the upper class of freemen and the house servants felt a sense of superiority to the lower levels of freemen and slaves, denouncing their manners as degrading and distasteful. They instead valued decorum and good conduct not only in everyday living but within religion. In the latter case, they denounced emotionalism and excesses during the service in league with their disfavor with lower class morals. When Daniel Payne visited a Philadelphia church, around 1850, he became upset by a ring-shout performed during the service. His reaction, "that it was a heathenish way to worship and disgraceful to themselves, the race, and the Christian name",[9] was only a singular reflection of his general attitude and bias which mirrored an upper class mentality. The same attitudes were prevalent between the classes following emancipation and into the twentieth century.

It is possible to delineate those social classes which have maintained a more "Afro-American" approach to religious music compared to others which have been more acculturated in this direction. The degree of acculturation, in turn, is dependent on the particular balance of features we have previously discussed. Again, this is not a clear-cut phenomenon where one can simply assume that

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the upper class, for instance, is completely acculturated relative to the lower class. In actual fact, the most perplexing problem lies with the middle class where there is a greater variety of attitudes. Despite the fact that the upper and middle classes have looked down upon the black masses, they have for the most part lived admist the latter group and identify with them by race. The attitude is rather ambivalent where on the one hand, they talk disparaginly about the masses yet on the other, attempt to support organizations which help them. Their underlying identification is blackness and this they must face. Years ago, a member of Boston's upper class observed that his social position was ambiguous.

> When you write of the Negroes in Boston....tell about us who are neither Negroes nor whites, but an ambiguous something-between; -a people not yet known or named. While our sympathies tend to unite us with the Negroes and their destiny, all our aspirations lead us toward the whites.[10]

The ambivalence inherent in this statement has led to a great amount of frustration in this group over the years. Subsequently, when we observe their religious patterns, the similarity to white decorum and manner is apparent. Yet it is also evident that, as we have already pointed out in the introduction, there is a secularization of the church which has utilized its functions for the pursuance of social reform and as a means of attaining community power rather than other-worldliness as its purpose. The upper class thus strives to "maintain" itself in the mainstream of American life. But it must also realize that its position is relative only to black people as a whole. Basically this is a division along the lines of "caste and class" but it does offer an understanding into the dynamics of this group and its position vis-à-vis white society. Frazier has suggested that,

> The isolation of upper class Negroes from the white world is responsible for the values which determine their style of life. The general economic and political conservation of the upper class stems from its position in the Negro community rather than from its economic position in American life.[11]

The lower class blacks faced the most difficulty in obtaining the benefits of American life due to a mutilayered complex of handicaps which may be summarized as "social exclusion". They were regarded negatively not only by white society but also by the upper and middle strata of black culture which was attempting to maintain its status quo and mobility. Due to social exclusion, this group became the least acculturated segment in the black class structure, carrying with it, from the days of slavery, a distinct culture with its own ideals and attitudes of behavior. Essentially, the urban black masses were continuing a cultural tradition which had been sustained since the eighteenth century. To be sure, there were changes in it but the fundamental relationship of the Negro to American society remained basically the same through the years,

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resulting in the perpetuation of the culture. For instance, it is still common to find the stereotype that considers Negroes to be intellectually inferior, especially those with darker skin. This attitude has, in many sectors of the United States, defeated attempts to improve education for blacks which, in turn, has limited their potential for mobility and change. This theme obscures the possibility that blacks have a distinct culture and communication network, a fact which is apparently alien to the bulk of American society. Quite probably, if blacks were accepted into the mainstream of American life, the backbone of their cultural traditions would gradually disappear just like second and third generation immigrants. Bur due to their race, they have not been fully accepted. And because of this, they have retained a distinct culture which, ironically, has been a disadvantage. Myrdal, writing in 1944, was correct in observing that, "Both economically and culturally the Southern origin projects into present time the attitudes and behavior patterns from slavery to a great extent."[12]

This sense of continuity can be envisioned by the presence of seemingly Southern black institutions and behavior. The tendency toward a matrifocal family unit is representative of ghetto life, although certainly not the only form present.[13] The notion of "soul" has taken

Southern food and talk as part of its characterization of the black experience and identity.[14] Collard greens, hoppin' John (black-eyed peas and rice), hoecake (pan bread), okra (gumbo), chitterlings, grits and barbecued ribs instead of being advertised as "Southern" cooking is now labeled "Soul-food".[15] But it is the same and although it may be represented as a form of black identity, the ghetto dweller regards it also as part of his natural diet. Occultism, involving the various types of charms, amulets and potions for success in love, business or chance, appear to have found a ready clientele just as in the South.[16] The storefront church has been one of the more important means of re-orientating the Southern blackman to the urban North.[17] For many, the established churches were too impersonal and cold. The size of these institutions were usually larger than in the South and, as a result, the intimate contact of preacher and member suffered. This situation made it more difficult for the individual to gain some degree of status and feel a sense of belonging. And finally, the presence of a more formal and rigid service was contrary to the flexibility and nature inherent in the "shouting" Southern churches.

In a manner of speaking, then, the urban black masses are a reflection of a Southern way of life but with a new dressing. There are two essential aspects of any environment - the physical and social dimensions - which must be considered when characterizing a culture. The extraction of a group from one to a totally different setting must result not only in a re-orientation of that group to a new environment but a re-structuring of its expressive and behavioral makeup. During Reconstruction, it was not a matter of a new physical environment but an adjustment to new intergroup relationships - the realization of freedom and independence relative to American society. But in the urban North, the change involved both parameters. The human ecological situation shifted to center on a greater functional differentiation in the work force and public services. The individual became dependent on others. The city, as a physical entity, altered the perspective of time and space. Spatially speaking, the lower classes became relegated to a ghetto which was limited by cultural and race distinctions. In the South, space was more diffuse, even in its urban areas.[18] During the Great Migrations of the First World War, one of the threats to the stability of white society was a change in spatial patterns.[19] In Chicago, the influx of 50,000 blacks, crowding into the slum area near Washington Park, forced them to expand their neighborhoods. The result was the disastrous riot of 1919.[20] The Southern black had to adjust himself to the tempo of city life, its population density, physical stimuli and new-found "contacts of mobility" - the telephone, newspaper, radio, movie theater and later television.[21] These lines of communication, although not allowing him to utilize them as a tool of vertical mobility, did bring him into contact with a variety of ideas and influences. Another adjustment had to be made in the use of space and getting around the physical aspect of the city with its numerous buildings and transportation problems. Stekert has discussed this problem with the adjustment of white Appalachian people to Detroit and the ensuing conflicts of traditional and urban attitudes in living.[22]

In subsequent chapters, we shall be more interested in the Negro church and the expressive aspects of the institution. The foregoing has served as a foundation for this discussion and will be alluded to for the purpose of clarification.

NOTES

[1] John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of Boston Negroes (Boston: Houghton & Mifflin, 1914), pp. 174-185; Davis, Deep South, pp. 237-251; John Dollard, Caste and Class in A Southern Town, Doubleday Anchor Books, (3rd ed.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 83-96; Drake, Black Metropolis, pp. 521-715; Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, pp. 700-705.

[2] The study conducted in 1914 by Daniels (In Freedom's Birthplace, p. 181.) describes the upper class as disliking the word "Negro" and preferred "colored" due to the latter's reference to "lightness of complexion". However, this class included only physicians, lawyers, large business proprietors and artists in contradistinction to previous member characteristics. Eventually, "color" decreased in importance during the 1920s.

[3] Davis (Deep South, pp. 240-242) has discussed a reason why the Southern upper class in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was of such divergent membership. He writes that there were very few members who could actually be referred to as "upper class" and consequently, to make a social group, others had to be drawn in of lesser standing.

[4] Drake, Black Metropolis, p. 543.

[5] Davis, Deep South, p. 246.

[6] Drake, Black Metropolis, p. 516.

[7] For a discussion of etiquette, see, Robert Ezra Park, "The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South", in Race and Culture by Robert Ezra Park (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950; 1937), pp. 177-188.

[8] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (N. Y.: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 50.

[9] Daniel Alexander Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years (New York: Arno Press, 1968; 1888), p. 254.

[10] Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace, p. 183.

[11] Frazier, Negro in the United States, p. 299.

[12] Myrdal, American Dilemma, Vol. II, p. 701.

[13] For a discussion, see, Roger D. Abrahams, *Deep Down in the Jungle* (1st rev ed.; Chicago: Aldine, 1970), pp. 16-30.

[14] Ulf Hannerz, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community* (N. Y.: Columbia University, 1969), pp. 145-146.

[15] LeRoi Jones, *Homes: Social Essays* (New York: William Morrow, 1966), pp. 101-104.

[16] David J. Winslow, "Bishop E. F. Everett and some Aspects of Occultism in Negro Philadelphia", *Keystone Folklore Quarterly,* 14 (1969), 59-80.

[17] Frazier, *Negro Church*, pp. 53-55.

[18] The typical Northern urban pattern shows distinct areas of Negro concentration while that of the urban South is more diffuse. They appear to be similar in having a heavy concentration of blacks near the center of the city. See, Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fliss Fava, *Urban Sociology* (5th ed.; N. Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), pp. 126, 128.

[19] One other major threat was a competition for jobs.

[20] See, Chicago Commision, *Negroes in Chicago*.

[21] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969), p. 284.

[22] Ellen J. Stekert, "Focus for Conflict: Southern Mountain Medical Beliefs in Detroit", *J. of American Folklore*, 83 (1970), 115-147.

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CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter concerning the black church does not pretend to be a history of that institution in America.[1] Instead, our purpose is to examine more closely, the relationship of social classes, education, and occupation to the arrangement of religious attitudes and expressions found in a given church type.[2] A particular church, then, will have its own theology, liturgical structure, role in the community, and repertoire of songs, based on those social factors discussed in previous chapters. The development of the various church types parallel the rise of social stratification in the black community. In those cases where the group attempts to incorporate the standards and norms of the dominant society, they move away from traditional customs. We have previously discussed the importance of education, economic security and urbanization as being of importance here. The more educated the church, the more attraction it seems to have toward white culture and disregard for traditional values. The latter is displaced by an interest in vertical mobility which severes these bonds. At the opposite pole, lies a group having stronger ties to a truly distinct Afro-American culture. They tend to lack interest in the thrust of mainstream white society and those blacks which have aligned themselves with its thinking. Generally speaking, there are two directions in the concept of the black church.

The first may be referred to as the "shouting" church characterized by an adherence to the fundamental principles of the bible, an action-orientated belief in calling the Holy Spirit ("emotionalism") and in many cases, an other-worldly disposition in their practices and beliefs. In this study, the "shouting" church is thought to include the Holiness and Pentecostal sects, the Spiritualists and the Messianic cults. We exclude groups like the Black Muslims which have no leanings toward Christianity. The theological consequences of these branches do vary. For instance, many cult leaders feel that they have been sent by God but the followers of Father Devine think he is God. In this movement, there is no water baptism as in the Holiness sects. This has been replaced by a baptism in the spirit of God, i.e., Father Devine. Further, because Father Devine is God, there has been a major revision of Christian dogma, making this cult into what Fauset regards as a "Christian eclectic".[3] Father Devine has become the focal in the religion. If you believe in him, you will never die and some of the more faithful give up all their pocessions to follow a life completely subordinated to the church. The Spiritualist cults are led by a medium who acts as a healer for the ill or offers advice to the needy. The cult has its basis in voodoo ritual but is highly orientated toward Christian idealsand is generally quite similar to Holiness liturgical practice and taboos. Each of these sectarian divisions demand much more space than can be given here. The reader is referred to the literature for further discussions.[4] Our, although perhaps sacrilegious, grouping of these sects and cults under the heading, "shouting church", is for the following reasons. All tend to have an "emotional" nature to their services, maintain an interest in a highly animated music with instrumental accompaniment and believe in sanctification. For our subsequent discussions, the Church of God in Christ will be used as a representative of this ideal type.

The "educated" church is considered to be, in this study, those groups - including the Episcopalian, Congregationists, Presbyterians and some Methodists and Baptist established churches - which are, more or less, interested in the institution as a force toward the capture of social equality and justice in American society. This view can be sensed in the character of the sermons and how the church operates in the community. This type has a relatively sedate service with none of the action orientation of the first.

The "educated" and "shouting" churches are two extremes of a long continuum. In actuality, there is a great amount of overlap. Ideally, it may be said that the upper class is most representative of the "educated" church and the lower class of the "shouting" type. But there is the middle to contend with. Whereas, the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches may be of the sedate types, the sanctified is invariably of the "emotional" sort. It is near impossible to pinpoint the nature of a particular Baptist or Methodist church - which contain most of the middle class - unless one knows the congregation. Drake reported, for Chicago.

> When a person in Bronzeville says that he is "sanctified" or that he attends a spiritualist church or one of the "cults", he is immediately marked down as "low-status".... If a man syas he's an Episcopalian or a Congregationalist, Bronzeville thinks of him as "dicty" or a "striner" or "striver". But if he says he's Baptist or Methodist or Catholic he can't be "placed" until he tells what specific congregation he belongs to.[5]

For example, Johnston found that of three A. M. E. churches in Boston, the worship response of two could be regarded as "emotional". Of six Baptist churches, the author found that there were, "2 emotional, 2 semi-serene, and 2 serene churches".[6] She found that there was a "cold" response to

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sermons and songs in churches of higher social classes. Middle class churches tended to be "warm" and the lower types, "warm" and "hearty".[7] Although the use of these terms as units of analysis leave much to be desired, the author's discussion of three church types based on education and social standing appears to be well-conceived.

Middle class churches may contain some lower class individuals as well, and due to this, these institutions appear to be a composite of inclinations and desires. On the one hand, many of those who strive for respectable behavior and getting ahead will want a more sober service. Others, who may not be as conscious of these values, shout as loud as any in a sanctified church. One reason for this mixture of viewpoints is due to class differences. Another is generational. In this instance, older people will tend to shout more than the younger members. As we shall discuss in the next chapter, it is this same dichotomy which is important for the song repertoire of a church. As Drake has observed, many of these churches have to balance their service and cater to both groups.[8] Allowance is made for shouting and older forms of music but, in some cases, the format is controlled. There is no such regulation in the sanctified church. This middle church type has been defined as,

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> an institution with members of diverse class levels under the leadership of a middle-class preacher who skillfully attempts to gradually reshape lower-class behavior into a middle-class mold.[9]

In our discussion, we will use the terms "educated" and "shouting" as directions or tendencies in the black church, recognizing that they are only ideal types.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INDEPENDENT BLACK CHURCH

During the antebellum period, there were only a few organized church institutions for blacks , contrary to the proliferation which naturally occurred subsequent to emancipation. As we previously pointed out, slaves could worship in white congregations but they were separated in the galleys. At times they were allowed to hold their own meetings but invariably a white chaperon was present either as a preacher or controller. To practice a type of religion which mirrored the emotions and context of their situation, many groups stole away to the woods for clandestine meetings.

Admist the democratic tenor of the American Revolution, many black preachers were allowed to initiate their own congregations and in some cases preach to whites. George Liele and Andrew Bryan were such examples.[10] Both were slaves of liberal masters who believed in their work. Liele was given a free hand to preach on those plantations lining the Savannah river. He had a persuasive way with

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white people and gained their confidence in building up his following. However, a good deal of his success lay in a policy to receive only those slaves which had permission from their masters. Therefore, he did not tip the status quo. One master, in commenting on Liele's influence, said that,

> he did not need to employ an assistant nor to make use of the whip whether he was at home or elsewhere, as his slaves were industrious and obedient and lived together in unity, brotherly love, and peace.[11]

Andrew Bryan was baptized by Liele and was his successor in Georgia during the late eighteenth century. His intentions were under suspicion by much of white society and it was not until around 1800 that he finally gained a stable position in the community. Bryan, until this time, had been coericed, imprisoned and harrassed by those who thought him devious. The Baptist congregations of Liele and Bryan were always under some type of supervision even when both had attained an easy repore with the white populace. It was only in the North where a notion of personal freedom had remained intact from the ideal of the American Revolution, was it possible for an independent black church to rise.

Richard Allen was born a slave to Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia in 1760.[12] In 1777, he was converted to Methodism and three years later became a minister. Having a gift for oratory and honesty, he was asked to travel with Bishop Asbury and became well-known. One of Allen's goals was to reach his own people. He refused to travel to the South in 1785 with Asbury because of the close restrictions on his person. Allen reported,

> He (Bishop Asbury) told me that in slave countries, Carolina and other places, I must not intermix with the slaves, I would frequently have to sleep in his carriage, and he would allow me my victuals and clothes.[13]

In 1786, he was asked to preach at the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. His assignment included the 5:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. services. When Allen first arrived, there were only five black members but due to his efforts, this number was increased to forty-two within a year. This larger number sparked a negative response in the white membership which resulted in an incident to place the black congregation in different seating. The outcome was a mass walkout by Allen and his group. Allen and a colleague, Absalom Jones, organized the Free African Society, an independent center for black members. Jones, a short time later, separated from this body and established the African Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. Allen remained under the Methodist Episcopal denomination.

Allen's action initiated the independent black church movement and resulted in the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church as a national religious

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institution, in 1816. He had founded the Bethel A. M. E. church, in 1794, on South Sixth street in Philadelphia. This was essentially a movement involving freemen of the North. It was near impossible to establish all-black churches in the South due to laws restricting assemblies of slaves and freemen without white chaperons and supervision. Charleston, South Carolina, was an exception. Morris Brown succeeded in forming a church of the Methodist Episcopal faith and in 1822, at the time of the Denmark Vesey Insurrection, had 3,000 members. After Vesey's plot, the church was forced to disband and Brown fled North. It was known that Vesey had been a Methodist preacher and that the Charleston A. M. E. church was behind him. Even prior to this date, there was much harrassement and restrictions on his gatherings.

Allen's A. M. E. congregation may be regarded as the beginning, not only of the independent black church, but black self-determination as well. His church, by virtue of race, became a sect. Mother Bethel was not organized to form a union of all the upper class blacks in the city but to meet the needs of the Afro-American community, as a whole, which were not being met by white citizenry.[14] In this regard, the organization might be considered a revitilization movement. In a sense, it became part of the "educated" church with its dichotomy of social and relig-

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ious interest. Allen felt that blacks needed a church of their own to obtain control over their affairs, to gain some type of recourse and representation in the white community and to maintain a sense of solidarity and moral life. Bangs, an early white Methodist historian, reported some reasons for Allen's separation from St. George.

> Indeed a desire to become independent of the white preachers had manifested itself for some time among a portion of our colored congregations, not because they were oppressed...but chiefly from a disposition to manage their own affairs in their own way, without check or control from their white brethern, pleading that they had piety and talent among themselves sufficient to guide them in their counsels, to supply their pulpits, and to excercise the discipline of the church.[15]

And further,

> One principal reason assigned by themselves for this separate organization was, that colored preachers were not recognized by our conferences as traveling preachers; and, therefore, however much a local preacher might labor in word and doctrine for the benefit of his colored brethern, he could neither excercise the functions of pastor in the governmental department, nor receive a pecuniary support for his services.[16]

To Allen, Methodism represented a means of offering black Americans a proper way to live within a Christian framework which all could understand.

> for I was confident that there was no religious sect or denomination would suit the capacity of the colored people as well as the Methodist; for the plain and simple gospel suits best for any people; for the unlearned can understand, and the learned are sure to understand; and the reason that the Methodist is so successful in the awakening and conversion of the colored people, the plain doctrine and having a good discipline.[17]

In a move toward self-determination and social power for blacks, Mother Bethel became a significant link in the undeground railroad. It housed escaped slaves and was to become vocal in the abolition movement. Allen, Absalom Jones, and their congregations were praised by the mayor of Philadelphia and the white citizenry for their community efforts during the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1793. Allen's personal treatise on these events was written to point out that blacks could offer any society a great deal with regard to manners, morals and discipline.[18] It was an important gesture to present his people in a positive light. Washington has summarized these intentions as part of the black cult which he says represents,

> That singular concern is the longing for ultimate power in the daily lives of blacks, expressed in their attainment of influence as equal partners in every dimension of society. For this reason black independents came into being. They accept the society and they seek to reform rather than to avoid it, in the best interests of black people. This heritage of radical religion for the reconstruction of society where black men can have full access, white men can be free, and both can fulfill their humanity and thus faithfulness to God, this heritage of true religion is rekindled around the black cult.[19]

Bethel also served to help Southern migrants adjust to their new environment and in this way was similar to the storefront church of the urban North in the twentieth century. But with the passing of time, the A. M. E. shifted its interests and began to cater more to the middle and upper classes instead of the community at large. The

The black sect became a black church. This occurred when social stratification became more delineated and stronger family traditions and background were developed in the black community. The church changed and found itself unable to identify with the needs of twentieth century migrants as it was able to during its early years. The storefront church and those which retained a more fundamental point of view, succeeded in this endeavor.

THE ATTRACTION OF BLACKS TO THE BAPTIST AND METHODIST CHURCHES

The First Great Awakening brought scores of blacks into the fold of Christianity. We have previously mentioned that this event opened the way for black Americans to seek magara and effect some sense of order on their lives. Of all the institutions which attempted to proselytize their cause, the Baptists and Methodists were the most attractive to blacks. The Baptists believed in a modified form of Calvinism which said that although God still had power over who become the elect and the damned, mankind could become part of the elect by study, repentance and service.[20] Pure Calvinist belief dictated that only a few were among the elect. Man, essentially, could not control his destiny. Although modified Calvinism was a step forward for self-determination, it was not until Methodism that it attained a complete sense of free will. Methodism had its roots in German Peitism and Arminism. Essentially, they professed that man could determine his status for salvation. Salvation was potentially for all and God would save those who believed in him. If you did not believe, you were not saved. In modified Calvinism, God had already, in a manner of speaking, determined the elect but anyone who obeyed God's will, would be given the power for salvation. It was like a pact which the sinner would have to comply with. Both doctrines of modified and pure free will were prominent in the Baptist and Methodist faiths. However, it must also be remembered that Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists - to a degree - also maintained a modified form of Calvinism in an effort to gain success in the revivals. The popularity of free will, with its democratic overtones, was important as a manifestation of the general political feeling of the time which happened to include blacks as part of its objective.

One important consideration for the wide-spread acceptance of the Baptists and Methodists lay in its concern and direct interest in the average man. This, of course, was an outgrowth of the tendency toward social equality of the period. In a comparison between the Presbyterians and Methodists, Bishop B. T. Tanner, himself a Methodist, said,

> It strove to lift up without coming down and while the Presbyterian parson was writing discourses, rounding off the sentences, the Methodist itinerant had travelled forty miles with his horse and saddle bags; while the parson was adjusting his spectacles to read his manuscript, the itinerant had given hell and damnation to his unrepentant hearers; while the disciple of Calvin was waiting to have his church completed, the disciple of Wesley took to the woods and made them reecho with the voice of free grace, believing with Bryant, 'The groves were God's first temple.'[21]

The Methodists, with their highly organized circuit riders, managed to reach the masses. On plantations, they, "preached to the negroes and then dined with the overseer", instead of the planter.[22] In Virginia, in 1789, both the Methodists and Baptists disregarded the slave codes and held unlawful meetings for blacks in the evenings. This action would be unheard of by the Presbyterians and Episcopalians. During one of these sessions, "when the 'paterrolers' attempted to seize certain slaves they (the paterrolers) were thrown out of the window and obliged to leave this gathering of whites and blacks."[23]

The Presbyterians and similar established churches should not be totally discounted during the revival movements of this period. Samuel Davies, as discussed in an earlier chapter, was a Presbyterian who devoted his life's work to proselytizing among the slaves. But such churches demanded a great deal from the convert and assumed too much of an intellectual commitment to the study and philosophy of the bible rather than a heart experience. To be a

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preacher, one had to be fully ordained and educated at an appropriate school. The Baptists and early Methodists, on the other hand, made no pretense for academic training.[24] All that was required was a willingness to preach the gospel. Thus, anyone who so desired could easily gravitate to the ministry, even though they were totally illiterate. In this manner, the preacher could gather about him the makings of his own church.

The Baptists were more liberal in this regard, for their policy was that each church should have its own independence. Their doctrine stated that,

> each particular and separate body of believers.... is, and should of right be, entirely independent of all other persons and bodies of men; that such a church should govern itself without interference from any humna authority, ecclesiastical or civil, other than its own.[25]

This was based on interpretation of the New Testament and the tenets of the primitive church. The Methodists had a centralized government, making it a problem for the establishment of a church at the discretion of the preacher.

Many supporters of "Africanisms" have argued that the one mainattraction of the Baptists church was its belief in baptism by total immersion.[26] The traditional African regarded river spirits as among the more significant of the lesser dieties. Sacred water was an important element in ritual. Its use was in gaining the power of the river spirits much in the same way we have discussed in an earlier chapter. There is another facet of baptism which blacks may have related to conversion and the hope of gaining happiness and a new life. Many white Baptist theologians have theorized that complete immersion symbolized the partaking of a new life by the initiate. Olshausen has said,

> The one part of the action, - the submersion, - represents the negative aspect, the taking away of the old man; the other, - the immersion, - denotes its positive aspect, the appearance of the new man.[27]

And again, a Dr. Newton,

> Baptism was usually performed by immersion, or dipping the whole body under water, to represent the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, together; and therewith signify the person's own dying to sin, the destruction of its power, and his resurrection to a new life.[28]

Baptism, then, seems to have represented a shedding of the old life for a new one. It is difficult to acknowledge if blacks thought of baptism in this way during these very early years.

THE FACTOR OF EMOTIONALISM IN THE BLACK CHURCH

Another important factor in the popularity of the Baptist and Methodist churches was their evangelical nature. Johnston stated that the presence of "emotionalism" in black religion was, "partly because of slight African influences, partly because of American attitudes toward the slave, and partly because of missionary influences".[29] It now seems more accurate to say that because "emotionalism" was already part of the slave concept in religion, revivalism gave blacks an accepted way to express it. There is much evidence to indicate the existence of the pattern prior to the First Great Awakening. We have already discussed the Stono Revolt of 1739 where slaves assembled in a field, dancing and singing, to ask God for power in their crusade. Also, the rain dance cited in a 1680 report, referred to "Idolatrous Dances and Revels" which were, "barbarous and contrary to Christianity."[30] The "ring-shout" was a derivative of an African dance step which was performed as part of the religious service.[31] It built up in tempo and fervor as its participants moved in a circle with a sort ofshuffle step. Many believed that, "Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring."[32] The ring-shout became "Christianized" as such but undoubtedly these ecstatic dances were performed during the seventeenth century. "Emotionalism", then, was already present as a phenomena in black culture. In the environment of a revivalist church, the Afro-American could express a pattern which drew from traditional African conceptualizations. Although this phenomena can be traced up to the present time, it has changed, not in outward manifestations but in theological background and the social context in which black Americans found themselves.

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We have previously discussed the importance of conversion and black religion during the antebellum period as being a way to restore magara and to seek an alternative life-style to slavery. Emancipation eliminated this problem. Instead, the churches of the lower classes, as exemplified by the sanctified and certain Baptists and Methodist sects, operated from the aspect of community and group cohesion as a way of life. Whereas, in the antebellum period, blacks opted for order in their lives as well as freedom, they now sustained themselves, in that new found existence, by means of a fundamentalist religion. The religion became a way of life, a kingdom unto itself, where-in the congregation operated around a central focal point, the church. Everything in their lives became subjected to the church, for here lay the basis for their raison d' etre. While the established black religious groups became more and more secular in their outlook within the urban environment of this century, the sects were typical of those who believed in a small dividing line between the sacred and secular. All social activities revolved around the church, whether they were picnics, travel excursions or dinners. During testifying, members would tell about their inner feelings and emotions which worked to re-inforce their relationships with others in the group. The entire concept was built around an intimate community, a subculture within the larger eco-system. The philosophy of the church re-inforced this sense of community, for by nature of its doctrines - which shunned things of a worldly nature - it kept the group together. Although, the system was not a closed one, it was nearly so, in that such acts as smoking, drinking, dancing and at times higher forms of education, were forbidden. And as such, its members could not socialize with those who did not follow their way of life. It was an alternative existence and, in the ghetto, grew to become an answer to survival.[33]

It may be informative to make a short detour in our discussion in order to describe the inherent theological transformations. The main significance for us lies in the fundamental nature of the churches frequented by the black masses. This ideal church-type preaches adherence to the letter of the bible and the isolation of the individual from worldliness and sin. He must live a moral life within an ethical mode. These church types are generally sects which have distinguished themselves from the standard of the established institutions.[34] The Methodists were a sect in the eighteenth century who dressed plain and refrained from worldly intercourse but this changed during the next century.[35] As the church rose in social prominence and became more secular in orientation, dissenting segments of the main body attempted to re-orientate themselves about the original writings of Wesley. They emphasized Wesley's doctrine of "entire sanctification" - something the early Methodists did not do - through a "second blessing" over and beyond an individual's initial conversion to the faith. Warburton describes "entire sanctification" as,

> an instantaneous experience which is deeper than, and subsequent to, conversion and attainable by faith in the Holy Ghost.
>
> Entire Sanctification offers to the individual believer sudden, thorough, permanent, and privately perceived moral and spiritual perfection.[36]

Only the individual knew if he attained the sanctified state. It was essentially a subjective thing. These groups were referred to as Holiness sects and included, during the late 1800s, the Moody and Sankey revivalists. Charles Finney was one of its earliest exponents.

During the latter part of the century and the beginning of the next, a further change in theology occurred. The Pentecostal movement was an outgrowth of the Holiness Church which differed from it in one main theological respect.[37] They made the element of "entire sanctification" objective as signified by the presence of glossolia which has been regarded as a "spirit baptism".[38] This phenomenon, when it occurred in an individual, was taken as evidence of the Holy Spirit. Although, in the past, participants may have "spoken in tongues", the act was not a normal part of the organizational or doctrine of the religious group in question nor was it a criterion for sanctification. Further, ethical living was essential for dissent of the Holy Spirit. "Spirit baptism" was a step beyond conversion and sanctification which made the person holy. The Church of God in Christ is typical of the black Pentecostal churches. The sect was founded in 1897 by Charles Harrison Mason who became dissatisfied with the doctrine of the Baptist church and desired to form a group which emphasized entire sanctification, spirit baptism and glossalia.[39] The pastor of a Church of God in Christ, situated in Philadelphia, told me that she was originally brought up in an African Methodist church in North Carolina during the 1920s but thought the service too staid.[40] She attended a service of the Missionary Baptist Church which was close in tone to a sanctified approach. The type of format appealed to her and after moving to Philadelphia, she became converted in a Church of God storefront tabernacle. Her explanation of the Holy Spirit was based on true doctrinal theology of the movement. The Holy Spirit is in everyone and although one did not have to "fall out" to feel the spirit, this was an important expression of it. Essentially, the surfacing of the spirit was a restaging of Christ coming to his followers, as the Holy Ghost, in the Upper Rooms during Pentecost. During this event, 120 of his disciples fasted for ten days, many of whom "fell out" in a trance state and spoke in tongues. The glossalia represented the language of the Holy Ghost and this is the same speech spoken by anyone who becomes pocessed today.

Our interest in those churches which exhibit some kind of emotional response has been two-fold. First, it is this type, especially those of the more lively variety, which are typical of lower class people. This aspect has been alluded to above. The second has to do with the categories of songs performed in each grade of church.

Bremer has given an excellent description of the extremes of each kind of service for the early 1850s in Cincinnati. Note the type of songs used and the social class of people.

> I had in the forenoon visited a negro Baptist Church belonging to the Episcopal creed. There were but few present, and they of the negro aristocracy of the city. The mode of conducting the devine service was quiet, very proper, and a little tedious. The hymns were beautifully and exquisitely sung. The sermon, which treated of "Love without dissimulation; how hard to win, how impossible without the influence of God and the communication of his power," was excellent. The preacher was a fair mullatto, with the features and demeanor of the white race, a man of very good intellect and conversational power,.... In the afternoon I went to the African Methodist Church in Cincinnati, which is situated in the African quarter. In this district live the greater number of the free colored people of the city; and the quarter bears the traces thereof. The...houses have...broken windows and rags hanging from them, a certain neglected, disorderly aspect, both of houses and streets.... I found in the African Church African ardor and African life. The church was full to overflowing, and the congregation sang their own hymns. The singing ascended and poured forth like a melodious torrent, and the heads, feet, and elbows, of the congregation moved all in unison with it, amid evident enchantment and delight in the singing, which was in itself exquisitely pure and

> full of melodious life.[41]

Bremer's description supports the proposition that those churches which sang spirituals respond demonstratively and that the songs are the product of the people themselves. The educated church tends toward the decorum and order of white church styles and utilize standard hymns. These divisions are still evident in the black religious community.

The spiritual was not the characteristic song type in upper class churches.[42] During the twentieth century, the songs gained an aura of artistic merit and were accepted in a concert format. Frederic Hall, a composer of noted artistic achievement, felt that,

> They (the spirituals) can be sung artistically and according to all modern rules of vocalization and choral expression without being robbed of their real simple meaning.[43]

The spiritual, and for that matter gospel songs, are commonly sung in middle and lower class churches. In the former case, two choirs may be present to cater to a diverse congregation which may include lower class people.[44] One choir sings nothing but standard hymns in a trained manner to appeal to those who like an ordered approach. The other performs "spiritual and revival songs", including those of the Moody-Sankey type, in a lively gospel style. In a sanctified church, even if there is more than one choir, all song types are performed with a gospel beat.[45]

Many have pointed out why those who have gained an education and prominence in their community have turned away from the spiritual.[46] Some church groups, like Allen's A. M. E., which seems to have been more borderline during its early years, appears to have changed direction in the mid-nineteenth century. Allen himself was considered to be evangelical and believed in a service which had rejoicing.[47] However, with time, as the A. M. E. changed in attitude, its shouting nature did as well.[48] Johnston has suggested that the otherworldly imagery of these songs tended to make them unpopular with the educated elite. A number of white and black educators went so far as to denounce them as degradations of the black race. Brawley wrote that although the spiritual is be to respected and esteemed by blacks, they were a product of their day, a generation far removed from the present and in general were too moody and gloomy to be an inspirational force. Earnest suggests that many blacks, soon after slavery, wanted to disregard the spiritual because they were reminiscent of those times. However, they were still the black American's greatest asset as far as tradition is concerned. As suggested by a number of these authors, the underlying basis for this shift in attitude lies with the increased education and economic standing of the black population. Generally, whites accepted the place of the spiritual in black culture. It is interesting, when a survey is made of collections of these songs during the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, how the authors lament the passing of this song type. The concern may include an artistic interest but it is certain that these writers are sad about the disappearance of a way of life - slavery. In this regard, Berger has suggested that the acceptance of spirituals by whites over jazz, is because the former portrays black Americans in a safe and submissive mood.[49] Jazz, on the other hand, is a threat because it is in contradistinction to white standards.

Music is a focal point in the "shouting" church, around which the Holy Spirit is induced to surface. Some members of a Pentecostal church in Philadelphia, told me that music is an essential part of the service. Its absence was inconceivable. Their pastor thought that music was very much apart of their inner spirit. She would just as well go to the pulpit with a song as with a bible.[50] The usual fare is to sing hymns during the first part of the service, followed by spirituals and gospel songs (see, Appendix 2, for a list of songs and the sequence of a service). This was the pattern, although not conclusively, in the nineteenth century.[51] Marion Williams feels that the reason for this rests with the arrangement of songs for the service and a sense of appropriateness, rather than inducement of the Holy Spirit. The spirit can surface even during the first number sung at a slow tempo. Referring to her concerts,

> ...if I go to do a concert. You have to know how to arrange.... I don't start out with a whole lot of pushy numbers. So...(I sing in) moderate tempo or either a style a little slower. And build.[52]

This process of building carries with it a higher incidence of shouting. At this point, it may be difficult to control the congregation and proceed with the rest of the program. Members will "fall out" (become pocessed) as long as the spirit is present and little effort is made toward its regulation.

In a few middle class churches, shouting is not limited, but in many others it is, if allowed to occur at all. Here the music is alloted certain limits since the emphasis is not on the induction of the Holy Spirit. Instead, the main activity becomes an intellectual effort to appreciate the word of God. The sanctified church, then, leaves control of the shouting to the Holy Spirit, which is believed to be a manifestation of it, rather than to the decision of a choir director or minister.

NOTES

[1] For historical discussions on the Black Church in America, see, E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church*; _______, *The Negro in the United States*, pp. 334-366; Leonard L. Haynes, Jt., *The Negro Community Within American Protestantism* (Boston: Christopher, ca. 1952); W. D. Weatherford, *American Churches and the Negro* (Boston: Christopher, 1957); Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, C. Eric Lincoln Series on Black Religion, Anchor Books (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1973); Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (2nd ed.; Washington: The Associated Publishers, 1945).

[2] The following works will be important for this discussion: Ruby F. Johnston, *The Development of Negro Religion* (N. Y.: Philosophical Library, 1954); _______, *The Religion of Negro Protestants* (N. Y.: Philosophical Library, 1956).

[3] Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971; 1944), p. 70.

[4] Fauset, *Black Gods*; Washington, *Black Sects*, pp. 9-18, 112-118; Frazier, *Negro Church*, pp. 55-67; Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 115-123.

[5] Drake and Clayton, *Black Metropolis*, Vol. II, p. 670.

[6] Johnston, *Religion of Negro Protestants*, p. 150.

[7] *ibid.*, pp. xxv, 152.

[8] Drake and Clayton, *Black Metropolis*, Vol. II, pp. 673-679.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 678.

[10] Woodson, *Negro Church*, pp. 37-45.

[11] *ibid.*, p. 40.

[12] For information on Allen and the A.M.E. church, see, Woodson, *Negro Church*, pp. 62-73; Haynes, *Negro Community*, pp. 54-60; George A. Singleton, *The Romance of African Methodism* (N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1952); Richard Allen, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Right*

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Rev. Richard Allen (2nd ed.; N. Y.: Abingdon, 1960); Carol V. R. George, Segregated Sabbaths (N. Y.: Oxford University, 1973).

[13] Haynes, Negro Community, p. 57.

[14] For discussions of these matters, refer to: Wilmore, Black Religion, pp. 111-135; Washington, Black Sects, pp. 44-57.

[15] Nathan Bangs, A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. III (N. Y.: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840), p. 80.

[16] ibid., pp. 96-97.

[17] Allen, Life Experience and Gospel Labors, p. 29.

[18] ibid., pp. 48-65.

[19] Washington, Black Sects, p. 56.

[20] Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958), pp. 43, 82-84, 268-269; Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects: A Sociological Study, World University Library (N. Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 48-49, 54-55.

[21] As quoted in, Woodson, History of Negro Church, pp. 84-85.

[22] Mary Boykin Chestnut, A Diary From Dixie, ed. by Ben Ames Williams (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton & Mifflin, 1949), p. 489.

[23] Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia from 1760 to 1860", J. of Negro History, 16 (1931), 173.

[24] ibid., pp. 199-200.

[25] Rev. Edward T. Hiscox, The Baptist Short Method: with Inquiries and Opponents (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publishing Society, 1868), p. 17.

[26] Herskovits, Myth of Negro Past, pp. 232-234.

[27] As quoted in Hiscox, Baptist Short Method, pp. 21-22.

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[28] *ibid.*, p. 62.

[29] Johnston, *Development of Negro Religion*, p. 18.

[30] Godwin, *The Negro and Indians Advocate*, in Epstein, "Slave Music", p. 198.

[31] John Q. Anderson, "The New Orleans Voodoo Ritual Dance and Its Twentieth-Century Survivals", *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 24 (1960), 139-140.

[32] Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, p. 254.

[33] A recent book (Melvin D. Williams, *Community in a Black Pentecostal Church: An Anthropological Study* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1974) on the subject of community in a Northern urban Pentecostal church is an excellent extension of this discussion which has been based on my own work with a Pentecostal group in Philadelphia. For an older study, see, Johnston, *Religion of Negro Protestants*, pp. 16-101.

[34] The why of sectarian movements is beyond the scope of this work. John B. Holt ("Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization", *American Sociological Rev.*, 5 (1940), 740-747) has regarded it as a reactionary movement to the values of established society and a return to a moralistic life. Benton Johnson ("A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology", *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, 22 (1957), 88-92) suggests that it may also act as a socializing process toward middle class society.

[35] For a discussion of these events, see, Wilson, *Religious Sects*, pp. 48-74; Hudson, *Religion in America*, pp. 342-346; William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (N. Y.: Harper, 1930), pp. 350-353.

[36] T. Rennie Warburton, "Holiness Religion: An Anomaly of Sectarian Typologies", *J. for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 8 (1969), 131-132.

[37] Many tend to combine all black Holiness and Pentecostal groups under the heading, "Holiness".

[38] "Spirit Baptism" is the same as "Spirit Pocession" (Fauset, *Black Gods*, p. 8, note 15).

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[39] Elmer T. Clark, The Small Sects in America (Rev ed.; N. Y.: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 119; Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations (4th ed.; N. Y.: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 78-79; William A. Clark, "Sanctification in Negro Religion", Social Forces, 15 (1937), 548-549.

[40] Bishop Irene Oakly, Personal Interview, December 12, 1973, Philadelphia, Pa.

[41] Fredrika Bremer, The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America, Vol. II (N. Y.: Harper, 1854), pp. 157-158.

[42] Due to white attitudes against shouting, many "emotional" churches would conform their service to other standards in order to please guests or because they would have been treated harshly. The latter was more commonly the case in the antebellum era. The following account reports how a church shifted their program from action to decorum just for the sake of a white visitor (John Milton Mackie, From Cape Cod to Dixie and the Tropics /N. Y.: Putnam, 1864/, pp. 104-105. The event takes place in Charleston, Virginia, either during or before the War.

> At length after a tolerably long pause of preparation, a venerable negro was called up by the clergyman to open the service with prayer. This he did with not a little solemnity, not forgetting, at the close of the exercise, to intercede expressly in behalf of the "gemman present from York." The prayer ended, a devout old negro, called Pete, immediately struck up the hymn beginning, "I'm bound for de kingdom." But old Pete had, apparently forgotten, in his zeal, the presence of the eminent gentleman from New York, and had to be snubbed by the sexton. "Stop dat, you nigger!" quickly exclaimed the official, looking, at the same time, sharply at the singer's face, and then, after a pause, pointing upward, he called out, authoritatively: "Choir, sing 'Vital Spark'."

[43] As quoted in, "The Negro Spiritual", The Literary Digest, 98 (September 22, 1928), 34.

[44] Drake and Clayton, Black Metropolis, Vol. II, p. 676.

[45] A Church of God, in Philadelphia, has three choirs - the Memorial (Senior), the Fellowship (most are in their teens and twenties) and the Zionettes. The Zionettes learn the songs and how to sing them from the other two groups. The reason why two adult choirs are used is due to the organizational needs of the church.

[46] Johnston, *Religion of Negro Protestants*, pp. 130-131; Joseph B. Earnest, Jr., *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville: The Mickie Co., 1914), p. 152; "Negro Music in the Land of Freedom; The Promises of Negro Music", *The Outlook*, 106 (1914), 611; Benjamin Brawley, "Singing of Spirituals", *Southern Workman*, 63 (1934), 209-213; Marion Alexander Haskell, "Negro Spirituals", *Century Magazine*, n. s., 36 (1899), 577.

[47] George, *Segregated Sabbaths*, pp. 161-162.

[48] The question is raised as to whether Allen's Mother Bethel sang spirituals in an outright emotional manner, reminiscent of the "shouting" church. After 1840, the church became more and more typical of the "educated" type. This is suggested by the way Daniel Payne, a member of the A. M. E., spoke in degrading terms to a group of Philadelphia Methodists performing a ring shout. Payne was literate and a highly trained musician and theologian. Most probably, the church of Allen's time was a chimera of classes.

The earliest reference we have to singing in an established church is a remark about Richard Allen's A. M. E. Bethel in 1804. William Colbert, setting down his response to a friend's comment, reported, "My feelings were much hurt at Dr. B.'s by J. W.'s satirical annimadvertions on the poor black peoples singing last night, or rather what they sing." (As quoted in Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, p. 27). It is important to note the phrase, "what they sing". This would undoubtedly refer to the newer type of songs, the spirituals. Allen's hymn book (*A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns Selected from Various Authors* [Philadelphia: John Ormrod, 1801]) contained a few tunes with choruses which, although not true spirituals, were their forerunner, folk-hymns. It has been reported that Allen wrote the spiritual, *I Am a Poor Wayfaring Stranger* (*Pilgrim's Song*) on his death bed (Sidney Grew, "Random Notes on the Spirituals", *Music and Letters*, 16 (1935), 100).

At this early period in the history of the Black Church, there were very few upper class persons and most of these were served by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian branches. Philadelphia, in 1813, had a black population

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of about 11,000. Around 1270 of these were members of Allen's church or approximately 12% (DuBois, Philadelphia Negro, p. 199). Bethel probably had a high number of freemen who were illiterate, many of whom may have escaped or been recently freed from the South. Allen was accepting these individuals as part of the church's function of maintaining a sense of hope and responsibility in the black community. Allen himself was one of the most respected and wealthiest of black citizens in Philadelphia. It was discussed previously that many times, in the South, upper class persons had to mix with lower for lack of numbers. Allen was trying to gather strength for his church and his people and disregard status as a mark of purpose.

It seems, then, that the best way to describe Mother Bethel, is a church which served all facets of the community, much like the middle class church discussed on page 192. Spirituals were sung and if some members "fell out", that was acceptable.

[49] Monroe Berger, "Jazz: Resistance to the Diffusion of a Culture Pattern", J. Negro History, 32 (1947), 461-494.

[50] Church members, Personal Interview, November 18, 1973, Philadelphia, Pa.; Bishop Irene Oakly, Personal Interview, December 12, 1973, Philadelphia, Pa. See also, Williams, Community in Pentecostal Church, p. 150.

[51] See, for example, Hamilton W. Pierson, In the Brush, or, Old-Time Social Political and Religious Life in the Southwest (N. Y.: Appleton, 1881), p. 285; Frank Moore, The Civil War in Song and Story, 1860-1865 (N. Y.: P. F. Collier, 1889), pp. 465-466.

[52] Marion Williams, Personal Interview, April 3, 1974, Philadelphia, Pa.

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CHAPTER XI

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

This and the following two chapters will be devoted to a study of the religious songs themselves. It will be remembered that we originally considered three levels of characterization: historical, literary and performance-music. Taken together, these three dimensions represent a holistic attempt at delineating the various types.

When discussing the types of black religious music, it must be emphasized that we are considering an Afro-American interpretation of white Christian elements. Our discussion rests with the initial use of Christian songs by blacks in which a basically African culture super-imposed itself over styles of performance, content and purpose. Therefore, our beginning lies during the First Great Awakening when blacks began to be converted to Christianity in significant numbers.

PSALMS AND HYMNS

The most famous description of blacks singing psalms and hymns is from letters written by Samuel Davies in 1755. Davies, as we have previously discussed, was a Presbyterian minister working in the vicinity of Hanover, Virginia. His first letter was written in March of 1755 to John Wesley of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge Among the Poor. Davies asked for books to be used by his black congregation.

> The Books I principally want for them are the Watts's Psalms and Hymns, and Bibles.... I am rather importunate for a good number of these, as I cannot but observe that the negroes, above all the human species that I ever knew, have an ear for music, and a kind of ecstatic delight in Psalmody; and there are no books they learn so soon, or take so much pleasure in, as those used in that heavenly part of divine worship.[1]

A year later, having received and distributed the volumes, he again wrote Wesley.

> The books were all very acceptable but none more so than the Psalms and Hymns, which enable them to gratify their peculiar taste for psalmody. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen, and sometimes when I waked about two or three o'clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night.[2]

Davies' letters are significant for the use of Watts' Psalms and Hymns, if for nothing else. The First Great Awakening was not to produce an innovative song type as was to occur during the camp meetings at the turn of the century. The dissenting movement was the beginning of democratic overtones in religion, not in radical music. There were avid attempts by many to incorporate the newer songs of Watts and the Wesleys but these did not always succeed. The attachment of many American congregations to Psalmody

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was as great or greater than in England. To put these events into perspective, we will return to England for a short discussion of Watts and his work.[3]

The Calvinist movement in England during the Reformation produced an interest in Psalmody as the standard for church music. This was in contra-distinction to Luther who had a "love for the old German folk-song, for social singing and for the music of the household and family."[4] Luther believed that the writing of songs based on material from the scriptures and even the free thoughts of a writer were fair game. The body of song tended to be typical of what could be regarded as hymns.[5] Calvin, on the other hand, felt the necessity of continuing the ancient standards of the psalms[6] where the folly of a writer's pen was rated near sacrilege next to the songs of God. But during the seventeenth century, there were attempts to change the English congregational song. Some writers attempted to improve the literary quality of the psalms in a manner which met present-day theological needs. Church-goers desired to sing a text which was less Jewish in its testimony and mor Christian. Other writers went about to paraphrase other scriptural songs. Eventually, there were some who produced hymns based on the scriptures but which were freely composed. In the pen of Issac Watts, lay the accumulation of these endeavors.

Watts was not the inventor of the English hymn but a more thorough and successful extension of those preceeding him. His style and gift for writing left him an entire school of followers and his influence was such that many considered him to be the focal point of origin of the hymn. He succeeded, through much deliberation, to have his body of song accepted by the church where others failed. Watts believed that Psalmody was inadequate to modern Christian Praise. In the preface to his Hymns and Spiritual Songs (1707), he wrote,

> I have been long convinc'd, that one great Occasion of this Evil arises from the Matter and Words to which we confine all our Songs. Some of 'em are almost opposite to the spirit of the Gospel: Many of them foreign to the State of the New-testament, and widely different from the present circumstances of Christians. Hence it comes to pass, that when Spiritual Affections are excited within us, and our Souls are raised a little above this Earth in the beginning of a Psalm, we are check'd on a sudden in our Ascent toward Heaven by some Expressions that are more suited to the Days of Carnal Ordinances, and fit only to be sung in the Worldly Sanctuary.[7]

One of his main objectives was to re-write psalms and write hymns drawn on a free paraphrase of the scriptures in such a way that they were personally appealing to Christians. And that they were not intellectually above the masses. His songs emphasized love, joy and sorrow and were evangelical in nature. Although this is true, Watts' Calvinistic leanings did not allow him the total freedom in this direction as was to come from the Wesleys with their Arminian viewpoint. Perhaps, in fact, this may be one reason that Watts was accepted more readily by a greater number of church groups than Wesley. He tended to run a middle course. The Wesley songs were never fully accepted, outside their Methodist congregations, until subsequent to the American Revolution. Watts substituted Jesus for Jehovah in the psalms and went so far as to modernize them by transforming the land of Canaan into Great Britain. There were no great innovations in tunes. Watts wrote Hymns and Spiritual Songs, "in four sorts of Metre, and fitted to the most common tunes."[8]

The state of church music in America during the early part of the eighteenth century was almost totally encapsualted by Psalmody. The point was reached in some obscure congregations where music was nearly abandoned. And where it did survive, the singing led one Presbyterian observer, in 1763, to remark that,

> the miserable manner in which this Part of their Worship is droned out, seems rather to imitate the Braying of Asses, than the devine Melody so often recommended in Scripture.[9]

The presence of Watts' hymns and psalms during the First Great Awakening may be judged as an indicator of a congregation's interest in the revival. His songs were more in line with evangelical preaching (although he personally did not favor this approach) and fervor than traditional Psalmody. It took longer for the established congregations

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to accept Watts and when they came increasingly under his influence - after the Revolution - the revivalistic churches moved toward another style - Wesley, their own folk-hymns[10] and finally the camp-meeting spiritual. Whitefield, the great exponent of revivalistic preaching, was more allied with the musical temperment of Watts than the Wesleys. When he finally compiled a hymn book, in 1753, it consisted of material by Cennick, Wesley and others but the songs of Watts predominated. Ironically, his preaching style was consistent with the Wesleys and contrary to that of Watts.

The Wesleys contributed a great deal to the development of the hymn in three main areas. The first was music. During a trip to the Colony of Georgia, in 1735, the two brothers came under the sway of Moravian hymn singing. The Moravians used German folksongs which were more appealing to their ear than the music of Psalmody. In subsequent years, the Wesleys adopted German and English folksongs, popular tunes of the day and others which they found during their travels. The Moravians also emphasized a spontaneous and evangelistic type of approach in their singing. The Wesleys were convinced that this stylization was well suited to their Arminian views of salvation for all, a heart experience and a more fervid preaching style. The songs could, then, be employed as part of the evangelical

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call to save sinners. To them an emotional presentation of, and response to, the music and religion in general was more indicative of faith than what was available in the tradition of Psalmody. John Wesley criticized Psalmody, as,

> 'the miserable, scandalous doggerel of Sternhold and Hopkins'; at first droned out, two staves at a time, by 'a poor humdrum wretch,' and then 'bawled out' 'by a handful of wild, unawakened stiplings' 'who neither feel nor understand' what they 'scream', while the congregation is 'lolling at ease, or in the indecent posture of sitting, drawling out one word after another.'[11]

The third area of contribution was interwoven with the above. The wording of the hymns became even more personal and direct than those of Watts, in accordance with revivalistic attitudes. Yet Wesleyan hymns were of a highly literary quality with a freer use of meter and rhyme than had been employed by Watts. Charles Wesley wrote in forty-five iambic meters alone while Watts confined himself to a handful. Whereas Watts was content to rhyme only two lines of a stanza, Wesley consistenly varied this device. There have been many discussions on the structure and content of both writer's hymns, to which the reader is referred.[12]

There were a score of other eighteenth century hymn writers whose work filtered over to the United States, such as, John Newton, John Cennick, Augustus Topaldy and William Cowper. And there were others in America and overseas who developed the art during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[13] But the hymns of Watts and Wesley remained popular even up to the present day, in white as well as black circles. These later hymn types will not be discussed further with the exception of the gospel hymn. The gospel songs were distinct, if not for their imagery, for their use as a protest against established Hymnody.

We have previously indicated that blacks were particularly attracted to Watts' psalms and hymns during the middle part of the eighteenth century. Their use has been well documented for church groups of any class status or type. Although true, there appears to be relatively few references to which songs were favored by black congregations. A list of these is presented in Appendix three. The hymn book of Richard Allen, first published in 1801, is significant for an insight into which songs were used by the Philadelphia A. M. E.[14] Of the sixty-four hymns found in the second edition (also 1801), twelve were by Watts, four by Charles Wesley, two by Newton and seven by other known white writers. It is not certain whether some of the others were composed by Allen or a member of his congregation. More will be said about this later. It is interesting to note that, in 1873, Bishop H. M. Turner of the A. M. E. church - in a move toward de-emphasizing the singing of spirituals - revised the hymnal by adding a large number of Wesleyan songs and some gospel hymns.[15]

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Earnest surveyed the black churches of Virginia in the early part of this century for their favorite religious songs.[16] To his surprise, there were no spirituals mentioned. Six of the seven most popular were by eighteenth century hymn writers such as Watts, Newton and Wesley. The odd tune was a hymn by the Unitarian, Sarah Flower Adams, Nearer, My God, to Thee (1841). The most popular was Watts' Am I A Soldier of the Cross. The popularity of Watts was such that the singing of anyone's hymn by lining-out, a process which will be discussed in the final chapter, was called, "Dr. Watts". For references to these cognitive terms, refer to Appendix one.

FOLK-HYMNS

We have already defined the folk-hymn (see footnote no. ten of this chapter). These songs were either adaptations of the standard hymns by Watts, Wesley and others or original creations by local American writers.[17] A Watts text may have been kept intact as in the case of My God, My Portion, and My Love. This song was re-titled Dunlap's Creek and first printed in the Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony (1820). Its tune was changed to a variant of the "Lord Lovel" family.[18] Or, the standard hymn was altered. The literary quality of the local writers was a reflection of the common man and emotionalism in religion. They carried things even further than Wesley, many of whose tunes were too aloof for even these religious zealots.[19] The tunes were adapted from British and American folksongs and anything else which was appealing. These songs were mostly a product of white Baptists and were printed in a series of hymnals, the first of which was Joshua Smith's Devine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs (1784). A list of these is given by Jackson.[20] All contained a mixture of the standard hymns and those of local American authors.

The folk-hymn may be regarded as a predacessor of the spiritual. The process of formation was quite similar in that standard hymns were adapted to folk tunes. However, the context in which the spiritual was formed and its nature was totally different. Many folk-hymns were used for the formation of the "camp-meeting hymns" or spirituals. Some may even contain choruses. The difference between the two lies in the repetition inherent in the spirituals and the breaking up of old standard hymns into favorite wandering couplets. With folk-hymns, one finds whole verses of standard Watts and Wesley texts used intact. All in all, folk-hymns appear more integrated and unified.

The deciding factor in whether a song is a folk- or standard hymn rests mainly with the accompanying tune. Although it is true that many local writers conceived original texts, other songs were copies of the standard hymns where the only difference lay in the tune itself.

The question arises as to the composition and use of the folk-hymn type by blacks. It may well be that this category is not entirely applicable to black culture. All references to black religious songs in nineteenth century periodicals, consist of apirituals and the standard hymns. Due to a general lack of black hymnals before the Civil War, it is difficult to appraise the situation. George Pullen Jackson, in his search for white varieties, relied on a store of such books, many of which had tunes. However, Allen's A. M. E. hymnal, first published in 1801, suggests some possibilities.

Jackson categorized Jerusalem, My Happy Home and Now the Savior Stands a Pleading, both of which appeared in Allen's hymnal, as folk-hymns.[21] The first, written by Cowper, is printed in Allen's book minus a chorus. That in Jackson does have a chorus but is less complete than Allen's. But, Now the Savior Stands a Pleading, does have a chorus plus four more stanzas than that in Jackson's collection. The wording is similar. It seems that in the latter case, we have an example of a folk-hymn. Jerusalem, as it appears in Allen's hymnal, is probably a standard hymn. From Regions of Love, also in Allen's collection, has a chorus which was among the more favorite

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of the "wandering choruses". The real key to whether these songs were actually folk-hymns or presented in Mother Bethel as standard selections, rests with the type of tune used. Folk-hymns used folk tunes. But there is no way of knowing this due to the absence of music in Allen's hymnal.[22] Nor is it certain that Allen actually wrote some of the songs in the book, although the probability is high.

ANTHEMS

An anthem is a composition for voices, in which two sections of a choir respond to each other antiphonally.[23] It is the equivalent to the Latin motet and had its English beginnings during the Reformation. The anthem is thought of normally as a high-form of church music. A Presbyterian choirmaster thought that people should come to church to worship, not to be entertained, and suggested that more congregations use anthems written by classical musicians.[24]

Blacks have employed the term in this sense. Upper and certain middle class churches have used anthems in their liturgical services and they have been part of song collections. Some compositions written by black artists carry the "anthem" label.[25] Mahalia Jackson liked the livelier tunes that were sung by her Baptist church when she was growing up in New Orleans. But not the anthems;

they, "were too dead for me."[26] It seems that certain black communities categorized all religious songs as "anthems". Stearns reported that the term referred to any kind of church singing.[27] More commonly found is the interchangeable use of "anthem" for the "spiritual".[28] Parrish indicated that "anthem" was employed by Georgia slaves prior to the Civil War and by blacks in the West Indies during the twentieth century.[29]

After the American Revolution and as late as 1795, Americans who had been loyal to the British cause, fled with their slaves to the Bahamas and Jamaica.[30] In the Bahamas alone, perhaps 7,000 slaves came with their masters over the years. In 1824, a group of free blacks from Pennsylvania, Kentucky and South Carolina were transported to Samana Bay, Santo Domingo, as part of the American Colonization effort. In these areas, spirituals like Roll, Jordan, Roll may still be heard. Undoubtedly, the slaves transported their religious songs with them. In fact, some became missionaries in Jamaica, to plead the Christian cause. As we have said, the term "anthem" has been used in place of the "spiritual" in the West Indies and from the literature, it appears to be the region in which it has the most popularity. I have found no reference in either the eighteenth or nineteenth century American literature which refers to the term "anthem".

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A possible conclusion is that "anthem" was originally used by black Americans to refer to their religious songs during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It is interesting that the earliest use of the term "spiritual" by blacks was about the time of the Civil War. But, then, many previous writers were not too concerned with naming and cognitive categories. "Anthem" may have been carried by those who went to the Caribbean and never disappeared from their language as it was to in the States except on the Sea Islands. The only certain reference that American slaves used the term is from Parrish who reported that "one old grandmother" called "spirituals", "anthems".[31] It may be that the term was totally limited, in America, to the Sea Islands which had picked up the word from Bahamian seamen. There was a very active commerce between the islands and Darien on the Georgia coast as early as the late eighteenth century. In this connection, the vocable, "anthem" meaning "spiritual", may have been indigenous to the British West Indies and was carried to the Sea Islands. To resolve this conflict, a thorough search of eighteenth and nineteenth century Caribbean literature is needed.

THE SPIRITUAL

The First Great Awakening of the middle part of the eighteenth century was a move toward Pietism and away from the dullness and rigidity of the church. Some referred to the old theology as an excessive interest in intellectuality which mirrored the Age of Reason. Revivalists such as Theodore Frelinghuysen and the Tennetts were amazed at the number of people not in a church. But more important, the bulk of those who were did not seem to profess an emotional interest in God. The revivals attempted to break the stranglehold of the established clergy in order to revitilize an interest in religion. The Second Great Awakening which began in the 1790s and lasted roughly up to 1835, was essentially a protest against the same thing but took on a different character.[32] The reign of Deism continued during this period and such was its influence that a Virginia senator, while visiting Thomas Jefferson, found that the only one who would support his positive testimony on Jesus was David Franks, a Jew.[33] Again there was a move to disestablish the control of the clergy. This time it sought to severe the support of public taxes for such churches which in many ways still had connections with England. Dissenters attempted to turn the tables and push their own sects into the forefront of church influence. One important aspect of this period was the migration West of thousands of settlers. The areas of Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky were filling with people and Satan. There were no organized religious institutions and crime was rampant. To the revivalist, all this was quite appalling and required a resurgence of the preaching of the Gospel.

Although there were similar factors in the evolution of both Awakenings, there were major differences. The First Awakening, although tending to be Evangelistic in its outlook, was still mainly Calvinistic. The belief was that whereas people should feel with their hearts, they were not to entirely give up their minds. Emotionalism, then, was fine as long as an intellectual thrust kept it decent. In a discussion of the important theological differences between the Johnathan Edwards group and the Evangelists, Hudson has pointed out,

> Evangelicalism as a whole tended to prize a "warm heart" and to be impatient with theological controversy. What distinguished the Edwardseans from other Evangelicals was their firm conviction that a warm heart was not enough. In keeping with the earlier Puritan heritage they insisted that both heart and head - faith and reason - must be brought together in the service of God.[34]

But during the Second Great Awakening, the Evangelicals won out and the Arminian viewpoint surfaced totally.

Weisberger discusses two factors which were intricate to the revivals.

> One was the importance of emotion in religion. The other was the significance of the individual. It was his salvation that would always be the first and foremost goal.[35]

As we have previously discussed, there was a democratic feeling in the First Great Awakening which tended to espouse salvation for all. This, of course, continued during the next Awakening but its manifestation was different. During the First, the revival was, more or less, the end result. But later it became the means to induce conversion to God's principles. Colton, writing in 1832, considered that the First Great Awakening was a waiting for God where man did not compel, or heatedly proselytize, for all to join the ranks.

> I have intimated, that the more ordinary character of revivals of religion in the United States, formerly, was a visitation of the spirit of the Lord upon a community, unexpected, and apparently unmasked. God did not seem to wait for instrumentality in its common visible forms. But now, the ordinary character of the same events is the divine blessing upon measures concerted and executed by man, where the instruments are obvious.[36]

The camp-meeting was the instrument and the new songs which grew from this environment represented the expression of religious spirit.

The character of the camp-meeting was such that ministers from all denominations would preach side by side to upwards of thousands of people.[37] A central wooden platform, for the ministers, was faced by rows of benches which, in turn, were surrounded by a multitude of tents. At Cane Ridge, Kentucky, during the summer of 1801, more than 20,000 people joined the meeting ground. Participants screamed, were taken by fits and jerks of the body, ran, or simply fell down "dead", all signs of the grace of God and the working of the Holy Spirit. Both slaves and free blacks attended these meetings but their camp was separated from that of the whites. There are numerous references to black participation in these affairs.[38] In 1850, Bremer visited a meeting eighteen miles from Charleston, South Carolina.

> And here all the tents [of the blacks] were still full of religious exaltation, each separate tent presenting some new phasis. We saw in one a zealous convert,...who with violent gesticulations gave vent to his...newly-awakened feelings...in another we saw a whole crowd of black people on their knees, all dressed in white, striking themselves on the breast, and crying out and talking with the greatest pathos; in a third women were dancing "the holy dance" for one of the newly-converted.... In a fourth, a song of the spiritual Canaan was being sung excellently. In one tent we saw a fat negro member walking about by himself and breathing hard; he was hoarse, and, sighing, he exclaimed to himself, "Oh! I wish I could hollo!" In some tents people were sitting around fires, and here visits were received....[39]

The camp-meetings were the birthplace of the spiritual.[40] And naturally so, for in such circumstances, a new type of song was required which would harmonize with the tenor of much tumultuous shouting and goings-on. The spiritual filled the needs of a particular performance configuration. The camp-meeting was not like a regular church service with its control of time and an orientation toward a clerical leader with a set program. Instead, by virtue of its purpose - as a ready instrument for converting sinners - the meetings were geared to the participants.

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They were the important elements in the affair and energy was directed toward persuading them to convert at that moment. After all, the Arminian principle of free grace and will rested also with the individual who was to decide by his own volition whether he was saved. The meetings, as a means to conversion, worked their will through a constant repetition of sermon and song. Most of these meetings lasted for several days. This allowed time for the sinner torealize his plight and under the influence of thousands of his fellow brethern, the tendency was strong to "fall out". The meetings, then, were highly animated where enthusiasm was the absolute rule and where unusual bodily behavior was welcomed as an acceptance of God, not a mania of disorderly conduct.

Participants, by shouting, running and moving violently, were in no position to read from hymn books. The books, of course, served as source material for the spirituals, especially The Pocket Hymn Book (23rd ed., 1800) and The Pilgrim Songster (1810), the latter having a good number of hymns by John A. Granade.[41] A discussion of the structure of the spiritual will be left for the next chapter. For now, we will simply characterize it as an historical phenomenon. Essentially, the spiritual contained a stanza from a hymn or one which was original. This alternated with a chorus which, being highly repetitious, allowed for it to be easily memorized. The presence of repetitive verses is important for three reasons. One, already mentioned, is ease in memorization. Another is the preacher-congregation interchange where the individual could be drawn into participation by coming in on the chorus. Another is the build-up of emotion and tension in the song which, if continued for a long time, would affect the crowd. Afro-American performance habits excell at this display, as we shall soon discuss. In fact, it is a mark of all their songs, both sacred and secular. The music, with its infectious melodic folk quality, added to the attractiveness of these songs. They were highly rhythmic and blended well with the temper of the gatherings. Many tunes were already familiar to the crowd as melodies of secular ballads and the like.

Standard and folk-hymns were segmented into rhyme pairs which by becoming favorites of the crowd, wandered from song to song. The refrains and choruses represented the response of the crowd to the verse lines shouted out by the leader. These responses were built upon whatever was said. For instance, "Glory Hallelujah" or "Hallelujah to the Lamb" could have been picked from several lines to serve as the basis for a chorus. Some of these constructions, like the rhyme pairs, became favorites and would be heard to a score of songs. Anything conceivable appears to have been allowed in their composition and many, undoubtedly, been allowed in their composition and many, undoubtedly, survived only the heat of the moment, to be lost for eternity after the meeting disbanded. Others were captured in offbeat hymn books which emphasized the spiritual type. Of course, blacks had none of these books. However, these hymnals were not accepted as a replacement for the standard books and many became defunct after the Civil War. Yoder described the standard hymns versus spirituals as a conflict of types in which the former won out.

> This conflict...was partly religious and esthetic, partly sociological. The religious division came between those who favored a more sober psalm-singing type of worship, with literary hymns, form and dignity, versus those who liked the "free", camp-meeting atmosphere of spontaneous song, ejaculated prayer, shouts, and "noise". The sociological division was largely a matter of differences in education, rural versus urban environment, and economic status. Esthetically it was a matter of folk-level versus art-level songs and music. "Choruses" could be sung... as long as Methodists were low in economic status, rural rather than urban, and low on formal education. City churches with an educated ministry soon introduced organs and choirs, which were opposed throughout the nineteenth century by the congregations who wanted to worship in the "good old way".[42]

This same kind of situation might be leveled at blacks but with some differences. During the antebellum period, they were in no position to increase their vertical mobility and as a result, the black masses kept the spiritual as a meaningful song type within their culture. Perhaps, in part, this was largely one reason why it has remained even to the present day. During the antebellum

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period, it became intertwined with a way of life, a world view and an expression of their environmental condition. And it would always remain so until emancipation. When freedom came, there began a tendency to gravitate toward the newer gospel hymns and less emphasis was placed on the spirituals. But because the spiritual was considered a symbol of slavery - i.e., the texts, not the manner of singing them - it was absorbed at various levels of black society, for different reasons, and became the representation of black suffering as well as black spirit and perseverance. None of this was true for whites. It is true that white schismatic and rural groups have kept the tradition alive up to the present time. However, the songs can not be considered as a cultural manifestation in the terms which we have discussed.

It is also interesting to note that educated freemen of the antebellum period attempted to promote the use of choirs and instrumental music in church services. Daniel Payne introduced this pattern in Baltimore during the years, 1848-1849.[43] On the other hand, members of the more traditional groups refused to allow instruments, thinking them part of the devil's music. The sanctified church, as we shall see, was an important exception.

The hymnal of Richard Allen may well have served as source material for the spirituals. There are four tunes

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containing choruses. At least two - From Regions of Love and Now the Savior Stands a Pleading - appear to be possible folk-hymns. As Jackson has pointed out, there were choruses and repetitive verses attached to songs prior to the Second Great Awakening.[44] In this instance, we can regard these tunes as an inbetween stage and not true spirituals.

John F. Watson, to be discussed soon, mentioned "choruses" sung by "illiterate" blacks of a Methodist church in Philadelphia, in 1819. Whether these people were members of Allen's Mother Bethel is not really known, although Southern seems to think so.[45] For one thing, the Wesley A. M. E., founded in 1817, was also active around the city. Further, it is interesting to note that The Doctrines and Disciplines of the A. M. E. Church specifically state the following.

> 11 - Sing no hymns of your own composing
> 15 - The preachers are desired not to encourage the singing of fugetunes in our congregations.
> 16 - We do not think that fugetunes are sinful or improper to be used in private companies: but do not approve of their being used in our public congregations, because public singing is a part of divine worship....[46]

"Public congregations" also denoted camp-meetings. "Fugetunes" may have meant the folksy songs of the William Billings type or maybe an allusion to spirituals. This doctrine was an adaptation of the white church organization. How close Mother Bethel followed these rules relative to the

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singing of spirituals is not known. For reasons which we have discussed in footnote no. forty-eight of the last chapter, in these early years, the rules were probably quite relaxed. After 1840, it was another situation entirely. Nevertheless, Allen's collection of songs may still have been used as the basis for composing spirituals.

The choruses of each of the songs mentioned above were among the more favorite wandering choruses used for camp-meeting spirituals.[47] One was present in two of Allen's songs - The Voice of Free Grace and From Regions of Love.

Hallelujah to the Lamb
  who purchas'd our pardon,
We'll praise him again,
  when we pass over Jordan.

Both of these songs also appeared in A Selection of Psalms and Hymns compiled by Samuel Jones and Burgiss Allison, second edition 1801 (and may have appeared in the first edition of 1790). The Voice of Free Grace was a very popular hymn, appearing in many standard books. The song has been attributed to four different authors - Heber, Thornby, Thursby and Richard Burdsall. All versions have maintained the chorus as printed in Allen's hymnal. A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs also contained songs from which rhyme pairs were extracted or re-adapted to form spirituals. The following is an example.[49]

> The happy day will soon appear,
> When Gabriel's trumpet you shall hear.
> (from hymn no. 29)

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the terms denoting these songs were: "camp-meeting songs", "camp-meeting choruses" or "spiritual songs", not "spirituals".[50] This is only relevant for the white tradition. We do not have any information for naming by blacks at this early date. "Spiritual songs" was used in the title of numerous hymn books as early as the sixteenth century. The first English hymn book was compiled by Myles Coverdale during the 1530s and titled, Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the holy Scripture.[51] The term "spiritual" came into vogue about the time of the Civil War. Prior to this period, writers referred to black spirituals as simply "hymns" or more descriptively, "One of their characteristic hymns, with a joyful chorus".[52] It seems they never thought to ask blacks for their own terms. Appendix one contains a list of expressions which black Americans referred to their songs. There are designations drawn from all class levels and this should be considered in its appraisal.

The first good documentation of black Americans singing spirituals is by John F. Watson, a Methodist minister from the Philadelphia area. Part of his description follows.

> We have too, a growing evil, in the practice of singing in our places of public and society worship, merry airs, adapted from old songs, to hymns of our composing: often miserable as poetry, and senseless as matter, and most frequently composed and first sung by the illiterate blacks of the society....
>
> In the blacks' quarter, the coloured people get together, and sing for hours together, short scraps of disjointed affirmations, pledges, or prayers, lengthened out with long repetition choruses.[53]

Watson also mentioned three tune titles and described a ring-shout. Faux, on a trip to America in 1820, wrote of a church service in May of that year. The event took place in Delaware.

> At night, I went to the black church, where the black minister shewed much uncultivated talent. After the sermon they began singing merrily, and continued, without stopping, one hour, till they became exhausted and breathless. "Oh! Come to Zion, come!" "Hallelujah, etc." And then, "O won't you have my lovely bleeding Jesus", a thousand times repeated in full thundering chorus to the tune of "Fol de rol". While all the time they were clapping hands, shouting, and jumping, and exclaiming, "Ah Lord! Good Lord! Give me Jasus! Amen". At half-past ten this meeting broke up. For an hour it seemed like Bedlam let loose. At the close, one female said, striking the breasts of two male friends, "We had a happy time of it."[54]

Note the emphasis on "repetition" and "choruses".

The earliest reference to a specific text (not simply a title) of a spiritual, sung by blacks, which this writer has found, is a travel account by Peter Neilson (1830). Another, given in an interview, in 1839, with a former slave then living in New York City, was popular during the time of the Nat Turner revolt in 1831. The woman was asked to give "a speciman of their hymns".

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A few more beatings of the wind and rain,
Ere the winter will be over -
Glory, Hallelujah!

Some friends has gone before me, -
I must try to go and meet them -
Glory, Hallelujah!

A few more risings and settings of the sun,
Ere the winter will be over -
Glory, Hallelujah!

There's a better day a coming -
There's a better day a coming -
Oh, Glory, Hallelujah![55]

She concluded by saying that the authorities would not let them sing this spiritual because of its association with insurrection. Ironically, the song, titled There's A Better Day, was to shortly appear in the Southern Harmony (1835) and the Knoxville Harmony (1838), two white hymnals.[56]

The Civil War was a period of emancipation for blacks and also the beginning of an intense interest in their religious songs. The Sea Islands had been won by Union forces quite early in the War and it seemed to serve as a cultural laboratory for those so inclined. Most writers were members of the Freedman's Bureau and Anti-Slavery Societies. But others, such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson, became captivated by the religious songs of black soldiers. These observers described the "shout", church services, singing styles and copied down tune titles and texts.[57] These efforts culminated in the first collection of black spirituals to be published: Slave Songs of the

United States (1867).[58] Musch of their work will be brought out in a later chapter.

One outstanding aspect of the Sea Islands was a difficulty in collecting songs of a secular nature. Those which were collected amounted to a mere handful. An explanation may lie in the tight-knit nature of the communities of these areas which were isolated from the mainland until only recently. Apparently, religious elders controlled the content of songs. Parrish reported that, "solo dances like the Buzzard Lope evaded difficulties by using such religious songs as 'Gimme Him' and 'Throw Me Anywhere'."[59] The Sea Islanders included in their category of spirituals, songs which would normally be classified as secular. One, called The Driver, had no apparent religious connotation, yet it was named a spiritual.[60] Further, most if not all of their rowing songs were religious in nature and could be heard in church. One, Michael, Row the Boat Ashore, was only relegated to boating but it too was a spiritual.[61] This represents another area of interest - the consistent use of religious songs for non-religious purposes - and once again demonstrates the thin line between the secular and sacred. Other areas of the country also used spirituals in non-religious settings. Such songs have been heard from workers in tobacco factories, boatmen, men fixing boats, fishermen, women washing clothes and during other occasions. A list of references for these activities appears in Appendix four. One of the more interesting occasions for singing a spiritual was during the telling of a story; what is properly called a cante fable - a tale interspersed with a song. This was collected in 1908 from an old ex-slave.

> He told them a long story about Washington who "had a mule he tried to hitch up, but each time he tried it the mule would always walk out," and as he told the story he broke into a spiritual, "Don't you let nobody turn you 'round, keep on to Calbary", and sometimes he changed the last word Calbary to Galilee.[62]

After emanciaption, as blacks became educated and were able to increase their vertical mobility, the spirituals began to decrease in popularity. We have touched on the aspect of education in the last chapter and the importance of urbanization. Even during the latter part of the nineteenth century, standard hymns were supplanting the spirituals in cities.[63] Adams, in a 1947 article, discussed the influence of urbanization on the traditions of a Mississippi plantation which, seemingly, had isolated itself from the world.[64] The author considered the impact of movies, the radio, the juke box, city life as a whole and mechanization, on the people. There seemed to ba an increase in the popularity of non-religious and blues songs among the youth, although the interest in spirituals was the same between the older and younger generations. However, this category may lump together several song types since the older people did not like the newer "jumpy" tunes.

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The older generation within such communities maintained an interest in the spirituals. With each succeeding generation, as we proceed further away from emancipation, fewer and fewer members of the congregation adhered to the old-time religion. This, of course, depended on the particular dynamics in the community. Where acculturation and exchange of ideas was quickest - the urban areas - change was more rapid. But in such areas as the plantation indicated above and especially on the Sea Islands, the old-time style remained.

In the Introduction, we discussed the dichotomy which exists between the older and younger generations. The elders desire to keep what they were most familiar with in their youth, while their children seem open to innovations. Oldsters considered that a shift in religious style or the service represented an empty compromise of God's will. While they held out for the spirituals, the youth wanted "book Hymns".[65] To them the spirituals, "got more taste to um than those new Gospel Songs...They'll make the whole church just sing and rock and pat...Look like to me they mor spiritual."[66] To ex-slaves, the old spirituals did not sound right when sung by the present generation. Many said, "Dose are de same ole tunes, but some way dey do'n sound right."[67] Many times, the youth did not react emotionally toward the old style of singing but when one of the newer

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stylistic quartet groups sang, they immediately responded.[68] But this is what made the old folks thing the "young heads",

> ...completely spiled wid too much white blood in 'em, and de big organ and de eddication had done took all de Holy Spirit out en 'em, till dey ain't no better wid der dances and cuttin' up dan de white folks.[69]

The church itself may have surpressed the tendency of even the older people to sing spirituals. Barton reported that to some, the church was now cold and unlike their old congregation where the spirit would arrive quicker and everyone could shout to their hearts content.

> Dis chu'ch powerful cold. It des' scrunches me. It's so indifferent from our home chu'ch. Sometimes I goes dah, an I feels de Sperrit, but I hangs my head and squenches it.[70]

An informant of Adams poetically summarized her feelings for all adherents of old-time religion.

> Songs they sing in church now feel like fire burning.... You know how fire burns; all fast and jumpy, and leapy like. Well that's just the way these swing church songs are now. Yes sir, most churches now call themselves getting on time or something the other.... Praying, I'm telling you, seem to be getting out of style. Just now, they got the Lord's prayer set to notes. Long time ago people used to sing, rock, and moan. Call that "rocking Daniel"; but now they only want you to rock when you rock up to put that money down. They done put a new touch on "Give Me That Old Time Religion", and now they got it in another tune. They don't have to bring up "Hallies" like, "I'm Going Home on the Morning Train The Evening Train May Be Too Late". The other day, the church lasted all day, but that wasn't with preaching and singing. They was trying to get money.[71]

It is true that the spiritual has dropped out of vogue over the years, but the most drastic change affecting it was in the style of singing. In the above quotes, it was this aspect and the lack of shouting in the church which was the main disillusionment of the old toward recent trends. The text remained. As the newer gospel singing styles came in, the only way one could distinguish a spiritual was by its text. Congregations mixed all song types together and sang them in one way. The Philadelphia sanctified church which I had a chance to visit in 1974, sang a few spirituals - Goin' To Shout All Over God's Heav'n, Up Above My Head (Over My Head) and This Little Light of Mine. In each case, the performance was done in a modern gospel style with no indication of traditional elements. Older arrangements of spirituals may still be found today in revival songsters which a Philadelphia gospel book store tells me sell quite well. A few may even be found in standard hymnals. The Broadman Hymnal, which is used by some black Methodists, contains I Am A Poor Wayfaring Stranger, supposedly written by Richard Allen on his death bed. The songs may also appear on separate pieces of music. But much of the time, they have been rearranged to modern tastes. For instance, Ride On King Jesus, was redone by Dorothy Norwood in 1958. The wording and music were altered, although the song was still denoted as a "spiritual". The same thing has happened to Oh, Happy Day.

After the Civil War, there began a number of concerted

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efforts from both whites and blacks to preserve the spiritual. Whites who collected them felt that these melodies were quickly disappearing.[72] In the twentieth century, both black and white organizations tried to retain public interest in the songs.[73] Schools like Tuskegee and the "Society for the Preservation of Spirituals" worked toward this end. The largest and most successful effort in this area came soon after the War with the Fisk Jubilee Singers.[74] This group, after failing to draw attention singing popular numbers, succeeded in a program of spirituals. Essentially, the Jubilee Singers contributed two factors.[75] One was in keeping the spiritual alive and the other, a singing style which was to stimulate the organization of hundreds of quartets around the country. Today's gospel quartets can be traced to the Fisk Singers. More will be said about this later. Although they maintained a public interest in the spiritual, the Jubilee Singers did not perform them authentically. They preserved the words and music but their sophisticated musical training could not sustain the traditional element. This eventually led into an entire school of art and concert types who sang sophisticated arrangements, by Dett and Burleigh, to whites at Carnegie Hall. Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson have been the most famous exponents of the style. Perhaps a great deal of this interest can be traced to a political and social motivation and

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pride in black culture.[76] Many writers, in the past, have emphasized the necessity of continuing an interest in the spirituals which represent black hope and unity. At times, the reply to these statements have been equally as enthusiastic. Hawkins wrote, in 1934, that the spirituals are a hodge-podge of nonsense, moronic imbecilation which is a means of keeping the blackman meek and lowly.[77] The most recent advocate of the spiritual, in a more positive sense, has been John Lovell.[78] He has indicated that these songs demonstrate the slave's ability to handle problems of change, responsibility, justice and represent a sense of community for blacks. He considers that this philosophy has much relevance for today's society. Marion Williams succinctly summarized her feelings on the matter. Forgetting the spirituals was, "like forgetting my mother."[79]

JUBILEE SONGS

As a song type, the "jubilee", belongs to the same tradition as the spiritual but is considered to be happier in mood and sung in a more lively tempo. The spiritual, in contrast, has been thought of as sad and moody, sorrow songs. These definitions have been popularized over the years but there are a number of sub-meanings to "jubilee", each of which has some validity to our over-all discussion. The term has been used to describe an event, a notion in

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imagery, and a style of singing. The subtle differences in meaning are dependent on the reference group and historical circumstances which may obscure earlier uses of the word.

The earliest use of the term appears during the eighteenth century. "Jubilee" was employed by white writers to describe a black celebration or festival, but with no reference to emancipation. A Dr. James Eights recalled a black Pinkster Festival in Albany, New York, sometime before the Revolutionary War.

> Bright and beautifully broke the morning that ushered in the first great day of the Pinkster jubilee.[80]

Watson also reported a similar use of the term in Philadelphia prior to the Revolution.

> Many can still remember when the slaves were allowed the last days of the fairs for their jubilee, which they employed ("light hearted wretch!") in dancing the whole afternoon in the present Washington Square, then a general burying ground.... In that field could be seen at once more than one thousand of both sexes divided into numerous little squads, dancing, and singing, "each in their own tongues," after the customs of their several nations in Africa.[81]

It seems that only later do we find the term specifically associated with an emancipation celebration. Blacks were thoroughly familar with the exodus of the Jews from Egypt and the story of their bondage. The ancient Hebrews used "jubilee", as adapted from a law in the book of Leviticus, as a year of emancipation or celebration to occur every 50 years at which time, the slaves would be freed.[82] Black slaves restructured bibical testimony to suit their needs and condition. The aspect of deliverance is, as we have previously discussed, very dominant in spirituals as a whole. For instance,

I looked over Jordan, and what did I see,
  Coming for to carry me home?
A band of Angels coming after me,
  Coming for to carry me home.

However, "jubilee", itself appears to have referred specifically to liberation.

This is the year of the Jubilee
  My Lord says he Comin' bye' n' bye.

Going to get up in the morning a shouting,
  Going to join Jubilee.

This is the day of the Jubilee,
  God's going to build up Zion's walls![83]

Hall suggests this when he wrote,

> Some commentators make a definite line of demarcation between the jubilee and the spiritual, claiming that the jubilees are the lively, more jubilant songs. This is not the strongest application of the term. This title rather is based upon the fact that most of the songs point to a time of jubilee. Regardless of how sad the song might be at the beginning, before the end there is the expression of jubilee, or the hope of it.
>
> "Nobody Knows De Trouble I See
> Glory Hallelujah"[84]

According to Hall, there is no indication of textual or performance differences in the songs, which would require a special category of "jubilees".

The term may be used textually in the above sense but it also referred to a particular context where a celebration was made to effect deliverance. Botume suggests this.

> We invited all the people in our neighborhood to have a praise-meeting Sunday night in the schoolhouse. We wished to make this occasion for us all what they (the blacks) would call a jubilee.[85]

This same connotation may be visualized at an "emancipation jubilee" held on New Year's Day in 1866. Blacks felt a sense of freedom; that deliverance had finally come. They sang,

> The year of jubilee has come,
> Return ye ransomed sinners, home.[86]

The same effect was seen on the night before the declaration of emancipation in Washington, D. C., New Year's eve, 1862, when,

> Every heart seemed to leap for joy: some were singing, some praying, some weeping, some dancing, husbands embracing wives, friends shaking hands, and appearing to feel that the Day of Jubilee had come.[87]

In a context of such exhilirating celebration, one would think that the songs would be lively and up-tempo. But more realistically, all types of songs were presented at these gatherings. For one thing, the service was still a religious one where people prayed for salvation and deliverance. In fact, during the eve of emancipation, one tune sung was, Go Down Moses.

Later writers have defined the jubilee specifically as a song type - extracting it from a peculiar context - which is lively and which may have some particular imagery. Stearns wrote,

> The next step in this blending, which produced both ring-shout and spiritual, is the jubilee. Jubilees are both cheerful and rhythmic, usually announcing some sort of good news. Perhaps the best-known example today, is 'When the Saints Go Marching In'.[88]

He reported that W. J. James of Atlanta University divides the songs as to mood. Jubilees are "enthusiastic rejoicing" and spirituals, songs of "deep reverence".[89] Work breaks the music into three types according to melodic structure. Those having a call and response pattern and a short syncopated melody line, usually sung up-tempo, include jubilees. Those having a long, sustained melody line are spirituals.[90] Becky, an old ex-slave, who was sixteen at the time of emancipation, called her songs, "Spiritual and Jubilee hymns." She differentiated them,

> De spirituals cums from yo' spirit an' goes to de spirit an' yo' spirit praises de Lord. De jubilee cums frum de heart when you's happy an' you sings to de Lord how happy you is.[91]

McLin thinks of this in somewhat different terms.

> A spiritual...must have a personal relationship with the deity. When I sing Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child, is a spiritual.... The jubilee does not express a personal relationship. Ezekiel Saw The Wheel is a jubilee.[92]

During the singing of spirituals, in the traditional manner, the slaves would pat their feet, clap and sway back and forth. As the song's intensity increased, the body would become like a percussive instrument, stomping and clapping to the rhythmic beat. During the most intense performance, this action would be most magnified. For example, in the ring-shout, the "basers" of the dance may be seen beating time by, "...clapping their hands together or on the knees".[93] Robinson, a white writer, has associated this activity with "beating juba" which he equates with "jubilee". In his words,

> That peculiar act known as "beating juba" or "Jubilee" accompanies the singing of hymns. It is simply the act of beating time with the hands on the body, head, and limbs.[94]

This is the only reference which I have found which relates "jubilee" in this way. "Juba" has been commonly regarded as a strenuous solo dance with fast foot work and hand clapping, performed by adult dancers or as a children's play song-dance.[95] Whether blacks actually regarded "jubilee" in this sense is not known. There is a strong relationship between dancing the "juba" and body movement and action during the ring-shout and the singing of any song which elicited excitement in the congregation. Recently, however, Vass has pointed out that the Afro-American terms, "juba", "jubilee" and "pat juba" may all have been derived from the Bantu, "diuba" and "juba". In Bantu, these words mean "pat", "beat the time, the sun, the hour".[96] It is still not certain whether "jubilee" was used by blacks in this context, although the possibility warrants further investigation.

Up to now we have discussed two aspects of "jubilee", One has dealt with a given context, in which a celebration is concerned with the hope of or in honor of emancipation. The other has isolated a particular song type which has a jubilant, happy nature. A corollary to this is that all songs have a suggestion of deliverance and hope in them, as a mark of slave of philosophy. These definitions have been concerned with the antebellum slave but subsequent to the Civil War, "jubilee" took on a different connotation.

The Fisk Jubilee Singers, during the 1870s, made world head-lines singing their own versions of the spirituals. The appelation, "Jubilee Singers", was adopted from the day of emancipation, the year of Jubilee. Their success and influence was such that they spawned a series of music publications called "Jubilee Songs". It seemed that the entire body of spirituals was suddenly renamed. This term was mainly popular in educated circles and with the youth as they began to sing like the Fisk group. The older people still made distinctions between spirituals and jubilees (see, for instance, the previous quote from Becky). Joe Bostic, an associate of Mahalia Jackson, in an interview with Nat Hentoff, indicated,

> After the close of the Civil War, the jubilee came. The jubilee tied in with the beginnings of Negro colleges in the South, but mostly it came with the new feeling of freedom. The jubilee was an outburst of the freedom idea into song.[97]

Although Bostic considers the songs to be joyful, his perception of their beginning commences with the Fisk Singers.

And finally, the Fisk Singers also gave birth to a new singing school of quartets, named "Jubilee Singers".[98] These groups were popular at all levels of black society, well into the twentieth century. Parsons reported that a singing group, The Four Harmony Kings, learned a "spiritual" from some "Jubilee Singers" at a St. Louis conclave. The Harmony Kings were originally going to use the song in their "jubilee work", undoubtedly referring to church work or service.[99] A style of singing religious songs grew up which was to be a predacessor of gospel singing. Mahalia Jackson observed,

> We've had gospel songs as far back as I can remember, although years ago they used to call it jubilee singing, and the Fisk Jubilee Singers used to go all over the world singing those songs with just a little bounce - not as much bounce as now, though, in gospel singing.[100]

Marion Williams also felt that "jubilees" were the predacessor of the gospel songs. They lended the latter their rhythm but not their imagery which was an innovation.[101]

GOSPEL SONGS

Where the spiritual may be considered rural in nature, the gospel song is a product of an urban environment. Where the former displayed an unsophisticated down-to-earth imagery, the latter grew flowery and over-sentimental verse

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and became a sacred addendum to pop culture. Ira D. Sankey has been given credit for the term, "gospel hymn".[102] Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, the name "gospel songs" was affixed to hundreds of editions of hymnals which sold into the millions. An example is P. P. Bliss' Gospel Songs, 1874. The Moody-Sankey and Bliss songs were a product of white revivalistic efforts during this period which has been referred to as, The Third Great Awakening. A truly black gospel song type did not actually take root until the second decade of the twentieth century. Its first composer was C. A. Tindley, of Philadelphia, but Thomas A. Dorsey was its foremost exponent. He has taken credit for first referring to this black music as, "gospel songs".[103] The black gospel song is similar to the white variety with regard to form and verse structure. But it is black in its orientation - reflecting some notions in the spiritual - and in its performance. However, there are black songs which have sentimental verses similar to their white counterpart. There is much that is alike and a great deal that is distinct.

The black gospel song was also a product of a highly industrialized environment but developed much later than the white variety. There were a few reasons for this. The first lies with the spirituals themselves which remained an integral part of black culture. As we shall soon discuss,

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the type was composed well into the twentieth century. Another factor was the delay in urbanization of Blacks. Although millions of whites had flocked to the cities in the 1880s, there was only a small, but steady, migration of Afro-Americans. Their time came during World War I. Urbanization was an important event in the development of the gospel song. However, as we shall observe, changes in the spirituals had already occurred prior to these migrations and a type of song which may be indicated a s abridge between the two, had formed. What the urban environment did was bring together several elements - black and white - and impose a grid over them. The ~~elements~~ elements for formation of the gospel song were already existant but it required an urban setting to blend all parts of the whole. Only in this environment could the gospel song develop. Another factor lies with the performance aspect of the music. One defining feature is its heavily-accented beat and rhythm, the source of which was the sanctified church. The sanctified congregations believed in emotionalism and excessive use of music in their services. At first, the Baptist and Methodist established churches did not accept this. Only at the National Baptist Convention in 1930, do we find the beginnings of a wide approval of the gospel song. In fact, only recently have the upper crust of black religious society (Episcopalians) and the Catholic church accepted gospel music. But they cautiously select the more sedate compositions. In the following paragraphs, we will first discuss the white type as background for the black gospel song.

Each Great Awakening has its raison d'etre. Whereas earlier circumstances tended to deal with the rural population, the third attacked the degeneration of the urban centers.[104] After the Civil War, there was a significant population shift toward the cities, mainly involving white farmers. Although there was a slight movement by blacks in this direction, they did not migrate in great numbers until the second decade of the twentieth century. The Northern urban centers, due to industrialization, attracted great numbers of people seeking their fortune. This was also a time of European immigration where-upon thousands vacated their homeland for a new life. They settled mainly in the cities. The urban environment became a swarm; crowded into tenement buildings and shoved elbow to elbow. Newcomers pushed old residents from their neighborhoods, making the environment into a moving van. This shifting about forced many church groups to follow their members or close their doors. The thrust of this movement was a spiritual disaster for the poor within the inner city. Many recognized these problems and organized district missions. The Salvation Army is most typical of such groups. This concern became part of the "social gospel" and centered on the attempt to help the poor masses find themselves in the milieu of great business and industry.

But also, as Weisberger points out, this "social gospel" did not reach the middle class who had ventured to the cities from their farms. By being torn from their backgrounds, they too needed spiritual sustenance, but wanted it in a different way.

> For these Ebens and Enocks, Prudences and Rebeccas, clerking in offices, mending machinery, struggling to establish small shops and raise families, or painfully acquiring professional skills in part-time schools, the social gospel meant little. Theirs, rather, was the gospel of Horatio Alger.[105]

Essentially, they wanted to hear the old Puritan work ethic: that salvation would establish success for the hard-working individual. And this is the direction taken by such revivalists as Moody and Sankey. Both thought that the ills of society could only be rectified by meeting the spiritual needs of the individual. In this way, political and economic problems could be effectively dealt with. There was no grass-roots movement which sought to organize the masses into a strong church front in order to strengthen their position with the ruling class.

Dwight L. Moody has been considered the first important figure of the Third Great Awakening. Others included Sam Jones and Billy Sunday. Along with his musical director, Ira D. Sankey, he organized gigantic religious revivals which have been likened to big business ventures. Prominent businessmen, such as John Wanamaker and Cornelius Vanderbilt, donated thousands of dollars for the construction of tabernacles which could seat thousands. Considering that the revivals ran for several weeks, a huge expense account was required for maintenance and advertising.[106] It was relatively easy to attract thousands of people to these affairs. Newspapers covered the revivals and gave excessive attention to Moody's exploits. There was no precedent for this during the first two Awakenings. The press was considered of such importance that they were given special seating in the tabernacles. By being in the largest cities, there was an ample source of people and transportation was good relative to rural areas. Another drawing card was the inter-denominational aspect of the period. Moody was supported by the most contrasting of clergy men who endorsed most every facet of his approach. By doing so, the movement attracted a diverse audience from most Protestant faiths.

The music used during these revivals was adapted from the popular music of the day with its deeply, overtly sentimental bias.[107] This tradition in secular music originally developed during an immature stage of American aesthetic art where anything appealing to the emotions was highly regarded. Chase has aptly described this "Genteel Tradition".

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> The genteel tradition is characterized by the cult of the fashionable, the worship of the conventional, the emulation of the elegant, the cultivation of the trite and artificial, the indulgence of sentimentality, and the predominance of superficiality.[108]

He continues to discuss Henry Russell, The Hutchinson Family, George F. Root and others as the most famous exponents of the genre. Root, during the Civil War, owned a publishing house in Chicago from which he wrote scores of patriotic and sentimental war ballads. Just Before the Battle Mother, was one of his more famous.

Just before the battle, Mother,
  I am thinking most of you,
While upon the field we're watching,
  with the enemy in view.

Comrades brave are round me lying,
  Fill'd with tho'ts of home and God;
For well they know that on the morrow,
  Some will sleep beneath the sod.[109]

This style in tear-jerking sentiment was transferred to the gospel song tradition with great clarity. Root, in fact, wrote for both sacred and secular audiences. Some of these secular songs were re-adapted to a church context by a simple change in the text. The music remained the same. An example was Root's patriotic song, Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching, which was re-titled, Jesus Loves the Little Children.[110]

The revivals needed a song type which appealed to the emotions of the audience in order to get their message across. Sentimentality was totally meshed with the gears of popular culture. And what better way to respond to the needs of people than with something they were already familiar with and liked. If the audience would outwardly weep over a secular ballad describing a mother who fretted about the welfare of her wandering boy, then they would react similarly to a religious song which tapped the same tears in the name of Christ. The music-hall entered the church. Lowry's, Where Is My Boy To-Night?, was a favorite of the revivals.

Where is my wand'ring boy to-night
  The boy of my tenderest care,
The boy that was once my joy and light,
  The child of my love and prayer?

Once he was pure as morn-ing dew,
  As he knelt at his moth-er's knee;
No face was so bright, no heart more true,
  And none was so sweet as he.[111]

Downey suggests that the use of secular music was to compete with that very mode of life.

> In the cities revivalism was forced to compete with secular attractions; in so doing it adapted a number of secular practices to its own purposes.[112]

The proclamation offered by the revivalists was that God loves you, not that he looks upon all sinners as despicable. An individual was the victim of sin, not its foremost instigator. In the songs, this feeling was part and parcel of the message. In the following text, it is apparent that all one had to do was profess a faith. There was not need to agonize and stuggle with the prospect of one's sins.[113]

"Call them in" -
the poor, the wretched,
Sin-stained wand'ers from the fold;
Peace and pardon freely offer;
Can you weigh their worth with gold?

"Call them in" -
the weak, the weary,
Laden with the doom of sin;
Bid them come and rest with Jesus;
He is waiting - "Call them in."[114]

Another source for gospel songs was the old English hymns by such writers as Watts, Newton and Doddridge. For the most part, the original words were kept but a chorus was added. The process was similar to the folk-hymn and spiritual writers of years past. The new element, besides the chorus, was the music. Watts' There Is a Land of Pure Delight was changed to Bright Canaan by the revivalists of the Second Great Awakening. In 1891, Sankey changed the music and words of the chorus and re-titled the piece, O Wondrous Land.[115]

It is also of interest to note that Moody's sermons shared the same imagery as the gospel songs. During some of his sermons, Sankey would sing an appropriate song - like, The Ninety and Nine - to get the proper effect. The sermons were full of anectodes which told of shameful sons disrespecting their mothers, drunks and other forms of immorality.[116] As Downey has discussed, the gospel song acted as a tool in the conversion of an individual. It stood alongside the sermon and certain songs were thought of as having some degree of divine power and inspiration. There were three parts to the revival service - the "praise service" as a warm up; the sermon with its sentimental "burden songs"; the "invitation" or call to the unconverted. Each had its own set of songs which were most apropos for that point in the service.[117] The revival was organized, then, to be most effective in building on the emotions of the audience in order to convert as many as possible. Or, as Downey says, for the purpose of socially reforming them.

Blacks were allowed to attend the revivals but in the South they were isolated from the whites or given separate meetings. At times, a special revival was more painful than taking segregated seats for there was a good chance of being totally confronted by one of the more famous Southern orators - Sam Jones. Jones was an arch negrophobiatic, who also openly degrated poor whites as well as blacks. Like Moody, he was totally middle class in his outlook and espoused the Protestant work ethic of success.[118] Dorsey remembers hearing Billy Sunday in Atlanta during the teens on "colored night".

> When Sunday got hot, he'd take off his coat and loosen his collar and everybody would holler Amen and Hallelujah. It must have been just a gesture but the people went wild.[119]

In those areas - usually urban - where there was a better chance for education, the Moody-Sankey songs were favored over the spiritual by the black community. Haskell

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observed,

> As the negro becomes educated he relinquishes these half-barbaric, but often beautiful, old words and melodies, and their place is taken by the denominational hymns and the Moody and Sankey songs, which are becoming more and more popular wherever schools have sprung up.[120]

These songs were adopted by the educated because of their middle class orientation and the tendency to put aside the connotations associated with the spiritual. Certain low class churches, like the sanctified groups, favored particular white songs which took their place next to the traditional spiritual. However, many times the songs would be changed. For instance, Odum reported in the early part of this century that, When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder[121] was a favorite of black congregations. He noted that although the chorus and one or two original verses were kept intact, blacks added their own to essentially change the entire format of the song.[122]

The so-called educated church, although adopting the white gospel hymn, was not so prone to accept the black gospel songs in the twentieth century. This took time. The reason may lie in the notion that the white songs were a natural extension of the older litugical hymns. They were accepted by most Protestant denominations at all class levels in American society and grew to be part of their repertoire. For a black church which desired to shun emotionality and the antebellum stigma attached to the spir-

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ituals, the Moody-Sankey songs were the way to go. The delay in accepting the black gospel song seems, as well, to be due to an unfavorable attitude toward them. Essentially, they were confused with the spiritual. That these white songs received a "hymn" status is supported by the disposition of the service in a present-day sanctified church. This church uses a number of white songs but they are almost invariably sung early. They are called "hymns" to distinguish them from "spirituals" and "gospel songs". Being regarded as a "warm-up", they are generally sung slower in tempo, although the performance is still in the black gospel style.[123] Please refer to Appendix two which lists the songs performed by this congregation. Some are among the all-time favorites of white gospel tunes - My Hope Is Built, Blessed Assurance and What a Friend We Have in Jesus.

When emancipation did come, the spiritual did not suddenly dissipate in a puff of smoke. It was too ingrained in black culture to do that. We have already pointed out the influence of generations, education and the Jubilee Singers on the popularity of the spiritual. The masses continued to compose the songs within a traditional framework. The War itself engendered an enormous number of new songs, many of which were composed by black soldiers. Some of them wer: Many Thousands Go, I's Free at Last, Soldier for Jesus and Stand on a Sea of Glass.[124] Many had direct references to freedom, the union and soldiers fighting in the name of Jesus. Original songs, which may be regarded as spirituals, appeared throughout the balance of the nineteenth and during the twentieth centuries. Many of these, like the later gospel music, were composed by local churches for distribution at their national conventions. The songs were printed on single sheets of paper, called "ballets" or "ballotts". Interestingly, some used the name "ballotts" interchangeabley with "spirituals".

> Dese days dey calls 'em ballotts, but in de old days dey calls 'em 'Spirituals", honey, case de Holy Sperit done teached 'em ter us.[125]

Others still referred to them as, "spirituals because they are mystical songs inspired by the Holy Spirit".[126] Work reported that, "a few new spirituals created in the traditional molds", were being added to the repertoire of black holiness churches during the 1940s.[127] Some written as late as 1965 have carried the designation, "spiritual".[128] Beverly Taylor, a clerk in a Philadelphia gospel music store, told me that spirituals were still being written.[129] They differed from gospel songs, as did the older forms, in phrasing and the kind of language used. The older and newer classes, however, have been re-arranged to fit current performance styles. Two examples of these are: Oh, Happy Day and Ride On King Jesus. Ms. Taylor indicated that certain spirituals, sung in a slow tempo, such as Deep River, are difficult to re-arrange in a modern style. She felt that, in reality, any alteration would destroy the proper mood and reverence of the piece.

There are some songs, written in the early part of the twentieth century and referred to as spirituals, which are not exactly like the older ones in form. Instead, they appear to be a bridge between the traditional mode and the later black gospel songs. The rhyming is more polished. In fact, the songs appear to have been written in such a manner as to suggest that the poetic rhyme was "forced" into the verse. Thus, there is a greater consciousness toward rhyme in these songs relative to the spirituals of the antebellum period. Another feature, very important to world-view, is the noticeable disappearance of the theme of deliverance and the year of the Jubilee. The songs take on a different viewpoint until in the true gospel song, one finds that God is denoted in a very personal and "friend-to-all" ideology. He has become totally personalized and the individual can talk to him as an adviser and counselor.

This process which is a step in the development of the black gospel song may be seen to best advantage in those traditional spirituals which have been "re-worked" by black congregations. In these instances, many traditional elements have been dropped for new wording and ryme. A good example is Keep-a-Inchin' Along. The chorus of the new version (early twentieth century) is pretty much similar, except for the omission of "like a poor inch worm" in place of the repetition of "keep er-inchin' erlong" in the third line.

> Keep er-inchin' erlong, keep er-inchin' erlong.
>   Jesus'll come bye'm bye,
> Keep er-inchin', keep er-inchin' erlong,
>   Jesus'll come bye'm bye.

The refrain, "Jesus'll Come Bye and Bye", still follows each verse line but the imagery and the rhyme in the newer type is different. First, the older version is presented.

> O, I died one time, gwine to die no mo'
>   Massa Jesus comin' by an' by;
> O, I died one time, gwine to die no mo',
>   Massa Jesus comin' by an' by.
>
> O you in de word an' de word in you,
>   Massa Jesus comin' by an' by.
> O you in de word an' de word in you,
>   Massa Jesus comin' by an' by.[130]

And the new,

> De road is rocky here below,
>   But Jesus'll come bye', bye,
> But Jesus leads me as I go,
>   Jesus'll come bye'm bye.
>
> Sometimes I hang my head an' cries,
>   But Jesus'll come bye', bye,
> An' He givi' wipe mer weepin' eyes,
>   Jesus'll come bye'm bye.[131]

A further discussion of this imagery will be left for the next chapter.

Prior to when Thomas A. Dorsey named the new song style, "gospel songs", they were variously referred to as "evangelical songs".[132] C. A. Tindley, the first gospel writer, was originally from Maryland but later moved to

Philadelphia. His tabernacle, the Tindley Temple United Methodist Church, is still active on South Broad Street. His songs were composed during the first two decades of this century, but most between 1901 and 1906. They did not seem to attain popularity until the twenties.[133] Bontemps described Tindley's songs.

> Most of his compositions were gospel songs in the conventional sense: tabernacle and revival songs. His, however, leaned heavily on Negro Spirituals.[134]

One of his most famous was Stand By Me which later found a home in white congregations as well. It was printed in the 1940 edition of the Broadman Hymnal along with his Nothing Between. It was recorded in a very staid manner by Madame Magdalene Tartt Lawrence, in January of 1924 (Paramount 12092), and somewhat looser in style by Hattie Parker with the Pace Jubilee Singers, in 1928 (Victor 21551). The Georgia Peach (Sister Clara Hudmon), later to become a well-known gospel singer, did a version in 1930 (Okeh 8882). But the gospel masterpiece was by Sister Rosetta Tharpe, in 1941 (Decca 8548), done in a distinctively funky style. Stand By Me, with its blue-cry and plea for strength from Jesus in times of dispair, is still repleat with optimistic hope. The imagery is decidedly black in the line, "When the World is tossing me like a ship upon the sea", and reflects a blues impression of "tossing and turning all night".

There has been a great deal written on Dorsey, his early beginnings as a blues pianist and composer and his transition to gospel song writing.[135] He has become so representative of the song type that gospel songs have been called "Dorseys" in certain circles.[136] As a teenager around Atlanta, he became thoroughly familiar with ragtime and blues, yet he always had a leaning toward the church. In 1921, he joined the Pilgrim Baptist Church in Chicago as a result of being saved at the National Baptist Convention. During the conclave, he was most impressed by a song written in the style of Tindley, I Do, Don't You? Tindley's songs were admired by Dorsey to such an extent that his first few gospel compositions mirrored the other's approach. In 1926, he wrote his first gospel tune, If You See My Savior, Tell Him That You Saw Me. At the time, he was confined to his home by a long illness. He tried to market it but did not receive an order until three years later. In the meantime, he had returned to the blues field and recorded profusely with his new partner Tampa Red. All this ended in 1930 when his songs made a big impression at a National Baptist Convention. Lucie Campbell and E. W. Isaac asked him to continue with his gospel writing. From that point on, Dorsey has restricted himself to just this genre. In 1932, upon learning of the death of his wife and child, he composed his most famous song, Precious Lord, Take My Hand. It has essentially become the best known of all gospel songs. Dorsey has been given credit for first introducing gospel music to a choir. He has helped scores of artists and sacrificed a great amount of his time to actively promote gospel music the world over.

Although his songs show many influences, including the sweet, sentimental white gospel types, Dorsey is best known for his gospel-blues imagery which appears in a number of his most famous works (to be examined in the next chapter). It is similar to that of Tindley's but is more direct and real in statement. Much of this may certainly reflect his backgroun as a blues artist as many have said. However, it seems more correct to consider that Dorsey is using imagery which has common roots to both sacred and secular idioms, reinforcing the construct that a thin line exists between both domains in black culture. The blues as a way of living have always been opposite to that of the church. But the music of each has a similar goal. It functions to help the individual in its own way by catharsis. Dorsey's statement at a Washington convention, "When a person is filled with troubles, this music makes his worries take wings and fly away",[137] is not really different in intention from a statement by Henry Townsend, a bluesman.

> But I tell you, in most cases the way I feel, the song (blues) will come to you when you are really depressed you know. I mean, word'll come to you and you feel them and decide you'll do something about it, so the thing that you do about it is more or less to

> put it in rhymes and words and make them come out. It gives you relief - it kinda helps somehow. I don't know - it kinda helps.[138]

And some blues singers think church music is blues music.

> It ain't nothin' to do with bein' aginst God. That's the thing that church people have aginst it. 'Oh Look! What he do! Oh, he's singin' the blues!' But what's that? It don't mean nothin', He sings a church song - if it comes nach'al, church people sing the blues! See, this is what some people do in our churches - if not so in the white. They sing:
>
> Lord - have mercy....
> Lord - have mercy....oooh,
> Lord - have mercy....save poor me.
>
> He's in the church singin' that! He got the blues in church!.... He feels so broke down that he got the blues himself.[139]

Mahalia Jackson has discussed the same ideas, noting similarities in gospel-blues-jazz.[140] And Willie Mae Ford, the gospel singer, has said,

> The gospel song is the Christian blues. I'm like the blues singer, when something's rubbing me wrong, I sing out of my soul to settle me down.[141]

Dorsey is composing gospel verse from the same cultural broth that contains blues. The emotive, deep feeling of trouble and despondancy, which is inherent in much of this blues-like imagery, is not different. That is common to both forms. It is the arrangement of these "blues contours" in the verse line, and the context and points of reference in which the songs are sung that differ. Marion Williams says gospel songs bring "glad tidings".[142] Dorsey believes that gospel music aims at bringing good news and hope to people.

> We intended gospel to strike a happy medium for the downtrodden. This music lifted people out of the muck and mire of poverty and loneliness, of being broke, and gave them some kind of hope anyway. Make it anything than good news, it ceases to be gospel.[143]

The reference to "people" is significant. Although both "blues" and "gospel" can represent a way of life for the individual, it is only in the latter do we find an organized dogma for existance within a workable community. And gospel music is symbolic of this community. The blues feeling imparts a personal side to the songs which lets them talk to individuals. In a sense, it tends to humanize God and make him as a friend. But beyond this, because the church acts as a cohesive bond, it unites all individuals in concord to work toward a common goal.

Any recognition of a gospel song must include a study of its verse form and music. The latter must convey a particular beat. The rhythmic concept is of such importance that "gospel singing" is distinguished from a "gospel song". Any song can be re-arranged to fit this pattern as we have already touched upon. Although Dorsey was important in the introduction of this beat in the middle class church, he is quick to point out its source - the sanctified church. West has said that Dorsey's songs differed from Tindley's due to an added jazz beat, the riff (repetitive rhythmic phrases).[144]

The sanctified sects emphasized music as an aid to

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bring out the Holy Spirit, taking from the scriptures the phrase, "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord." Although the established A. M. E. church introduced stringed instruments and the piano into its services during the 1840s, many congregations, such as the Primitive Baptists, regarded instruments as a sacriliege. Instruments were considered part of the devil's music. Even today, many Baptist churches do not allow more than a piano or organ. The sanctified church went all out with instruments and used practically anything which would make a sound: tambourines, banjos, guitars, jugs, harmonicas, bells, trumpets, trombones, washboards, pianos, cymbals, saxophones, drums, bass fiddles, triangles and violins.[145] Their music, as recorded during the twenties, is of a highly syncopated nature, reminiscent of ragtime. Instruments, during this early period, were employed as rhythmic backing to the performance. Only later did they act as extensions of the voice and take on individualistic melodic roles. The change may be compared to the strict rhythmic function of the drums in early jazz bands to their role during the past thirty years as a melodic-rhythmic component. Although the more legitimate church looked at the use of these rhythms as a sinful integration of jazz and blues music, their presence within early gospel can be argued from a common cultural derivation. Ragtime as a mature generic form had developed in the 1890s, at the same time that the sanctified church was born.

Today, the roots of numerous black popular artists may be traced to the church. The list reads like a who's who: Aretha Franklin, Ray Charles, Lou Rawls, Sam Cooke, Dionne Warwick, Little Richard, James Taylor, Dinah Washinton, James Brown and a host of others. The peculiar style of performance and vocalization patterns of modern "soul" singers has its basis in the church. In fact, there is not much difference between the two except the content of the songs and the context.

In the past ten to fifteen years, new cross-currents in the secular-sacred transformation have occurred. Today, many of the good gospel singers will perform songs written by popular artists, both black and white. The tunes do have a religious connotation or feeling to them, making them acceptable. Marion Williams will perform such songs, even those by Dylan. Her criteria: "If a song has a message and if I like the lyrics, I'll do it."[146] Years ago, this was looked down upon by the church and such artists as Rosetta Tharpe were ostracized. The same thing is happening in the church proper. During a choir practice which I attended in a sanctified church, two songs were rehearsed. One was Lord Help Me to Hold Out, a new gospel composition by James Cleveland. The other was Holy Roller, taken from the Stevie Wonder album, "Revelations", which was not religious

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in the commonly held sense of church-religion, but it did carry a message. This interchange of gospel and non-gospel styles, some of which is due to outright commercialism, has spawned a number of sub-types of gospel music.

Although Marion Williams feels that there is only one gospel music, she does acknowledge the validity of the terms: folk-gospel, rock-gospel, jazz-gospel and a hillbilly or country and western type.[147] Typical of the latter is Peace in the Valley written by Dorsey but subjugated by every country artist who made a record. Another is I'll Have a New Body. The folk-gospel category includes old spirituals which have been popularized but sung in a gospel style. Two are, Michael Row the Boat Ashore and Put Your Hand in the Man. Motown's album on rock-gospel is a good sampler.[148] The distinction is that the music has the same rhythm and harmony of current rock music. The songs themselves may range from such older tunes as What a Friend We Have in Jesus to Billie Holiday~~'s~~ God Bless the Child.

THE SACRED HARP

There has been very little literature devoted to the black tradition of shape-note singing.[149] The first black sacred harp convention took place during the 1880s. Today, it survives as an annual festival of song in honor of Judge Jackson, compiler of a collection of sacred harp songs

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for blacks.[150]

The story of the sacred harp singers, also named "fasola" and "shape note", had its American beginnings in New England as a singing school movement.[151] The black tradition is an outgrowth of this beginning. During these early years, it was popular in the rural areas to have teachers in music who made their living by organizing schools from town to town. In Britain, the process of singing an octave as, "ut re mi fa sol la si", had been simplified to four syllables, "fa sol la mi". As Jackson has explained,

> To fill out the seven notes of the octaves these early Britishers sang, ascending, fa sol la, repeated them for the next three notes, and then added mi as their "leading" tone or pointer to the coming fa which completed the octave. So the series with which we are more or less familiar nowadays as "do re mi fa sol la ti do" was sung "fa sol la fa sol la mi fa" in Shakespeare's England.[152]

This procedure was carried to America and was practiced in the singing schools.

To simpify learning to sing, each of these four syllables were alloted a characteristic shape-note - a triangle, a circle, a square, and a diamond for mi. The first tune-book containing shape-notes was published circa 1798 by William Little and William Smith and named, The Easy Instructor; or A New Method of teaching Sacred Harmony, containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan, wherein the naming and timing of the notes are familiarized to the weakest capacity. From New England, the practice spread over the South and Midwest and eventually became popular with certain black congregations in the South. In the middle part of the nineteenth century, do re and si, were added to the list of syllables thus increasing the four note shapes to seven. However, the earlier construction remained popular well into the twentieth century.

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the texts used by black sacred harp singers were drawn from old hymns, gospel songs and a few spirituals. The performance of the material was similar to white practices and indeed it is quite difficult, if at all, to distinguish the two.

RELIGIOUS BALLADS

The religious ballad is a song narrative which is common to both spirituals and gospel songs. The content may be bibical in nature or deal directly with some secular event to which is attached a moral. Because these ballads are more concerned with literary structure than with a given song category, we shall reserve a discussion on them until the next chapter.

NOTES

[1] William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia: Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: Wm. S. Martieu, 1850), p. 286.

[2] *ibid*., p. 289.

[3] For this discussion, refer to : Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1962; 1915), pp. 19-396; Benjamin Brawley, *History of the English Hymn* (N. Y.: The Abingdon Press, 1932), pp. 11-119; Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1940); George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals: Their Life Span and Kinship* (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1943), pp. 5-63.

[4] Benson, *English Hymn*, p. 22.

[5] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "hymn", as, "A song of praise to God; any composition in praise of God which is adapted to be chanted or sung; specifically a metrical composition adopted to be sung in a religious service; sometimes distinquished from *psalm* or *anthem*, as not being part of the text of the bible."
Note: For this discussion, the term "hymn" will refer to those hymns written prior to the Third Great Awakening of the late nineteenth century when a different type, the "gospel hymn", became popular.

[6] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "psalm", as, "Any one of the sacred songs or hymns of the ancient Hebrews which together form the 'Book of Psalms'; a version or paraphrase of any of these, especially as sung (or read) in public or private worship".
Note: For this discussion, we will refer to "psalms" as representing either the original bibical text or their paraphrase.

[7] Selma L. Bishop, *Issac Watts: Hymns and Spiritual Songs: 1707-1748* (London: The Faith Press, 1962), p. Li.

[8] *ibid*., p. Liii.

[9] Foote, *American Hymnody*, p. 155.

[10] "Folk-Hymns" is a term employed by George Pullen Jackson to refer to the hymns compiled by and for the Amer-

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ican popular masses during the latter part of the eighteenth century. They were either alterations of old hymns or original creations but the tunes were invariably folk in origin. See, Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, pp. 38-63.

[11] Benson, *English Hymn*, p. 222.

[12] For instance, see, Frank Baker, *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley* (N. Y.: Abingdon, 1962); Henry Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism* (3rd ed.; London: Epworth Press, 1945); R. Newton Flew, *The Hymns of Charles Wesley* (London: Epworth Press, 1953); Bernard Lord Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts* (London: Epworth Press, 1942).

[13] See, Brawley, *History of English Hymn*, pp. 120-163; Foote, *American Hymnody*, pp. 187-347.

[14] Richard Allen, *A Collection of Spiritual Songs and Hymns Selected from Various Authors* (Philadelphia: John Ormrod, 1801). For microprint copies of this rare first edition, see, Shaw-Shoemaker, *Early American Imprints*, Series No. 2 (1801-1820), No. 39. Also see, Eileen Southern, ed., *Readings in Black American Music* (N. Y.: W. W. Norton, 1971), pp. 52-61, for a reprinting of the table of contents from the second edition (1801) and eight songs.

[15] Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 306-307.

[16] Joseph B. Earnest, Jr., *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville: The Mickie Co., 1914), p. 172.

[17] George Pullen Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America* (N. Y.: Dover, 1964; 1937), p. 6.

[18] *ibid.*, p. 108.

[19] Foote, *American Hymnody*, p. 171.

[20] Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs*, pp. 241-245.

[21] *ibid.*, pp. 161, 126. *Jerusalem, My Happy Home* is titled, *Jerusalem*. *Now the Savior Stands a Pleading* is titled, *Pleading Savior*.

[22] For a discussion of tunes sung to Allen's hymnal, see, Southern, Music of Black Americans, pp. 89-90.

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[23] Oxford English Dictionary. Myles B. Foster, Anthems and Anthem Composers (N. Y.: DeCapo Press, 1970), p. 14.

[24] "For Better Church Music", Literary Digest, 96 (January 21, 1928), 32.

[25] For example, Behold Thy House by Virgie Carrington DeWitty (ca. 1960s). Hide My Soul by Charles H. Pace (1943). This is called a "spiritual anthem".

[26] Nat Hentoff, "Mahalia Jackson", Jazz Journal, 11 No. 5 (May, 1958), 16.

[27] Marshall Stearns, The Story of Jazz (3rd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University, 1958), p. 92.

[28] Harold Courlander, Negro Folk Music, U. S. A. (N. Y.: Columbia University, 1963), pp. 35-36.

[29] Lydia Parrish, Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1965; 1942), p. 5.

[30] See, Parrish, Slave Songs, p. 6; Elsie Clews Parsons, "Spirituals from the 'American' Colony of Samana Bay, Santo Domingo", J. of American Folklore, 41 (1928), 525; George Eaton Simpson, "Baptismal, 'Mourning', and 'Building' Ceremonies of the Shouters in Trinidad", J. of American Folklore, 79 (1966), 538.

[31] Parrish, Slave Songs, p. xi.

[32] For a discussion, see, Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (2nd ed.; N. Y.: Charles Scribner, 1973), pp. 131-144; William McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism (N. Y.: Ronald Press, 1959), pp. 3-11; Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River (N. Y.: Quadrangle, 1958), pp. 3-19.

[33] Weisberger, At the River, p. 7.

[34] Hudson, Religion in America, p. 80.

[35] Weisberger, At the River, p. 19.

[36] Rev. Calvin Colton, History and Character of American Revivals of Religion (London: Frederic Westley & A. H. Davis, 1832), pp. 8-9.

[37] For a discussion of these meetings, see, Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1955); Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, Vol. II (3rd ed.; N. Y.: T. Mason & G. Lane, 1839), pp. 101-112; Weiberger, *At the River*.

[38] For instance, Frederika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World*, Vol. I (N. Y.: Harper, 1854), pp. 306-315; "A Camp Meeting in Tennessee", *Harper's*, 26 (1862), 97-101; Frederic Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (N. Y.: Dover, 1966; 1855), pp. 193-194; Francis Grierson, *The Valley of Shadows* (Boston: Houghton & Mifflin, 1909), pp. 138-141; James Hungerford, *The Old Plantation* (N. Y.: Harper, 1859), pp. 344-345; John Dixon Long, *Pictures of Slavery in Church and State* (Philadelphia: The Author, 1857), p. 159; Captain Marryat, *A Diary in America*, Vol. II (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1839), pp. 180-189; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, pp. 22-23, 54-55, 73.

[39] Bremer, *Homes of New World*, p. 311.

[40] For a discussion of these matters, see, Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 291-298; Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (2nd ed.; N. Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 207-224; Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, pp. 79-87; Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, pp. 5-7, 11-18.

[41] Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 292, 295; Bangs, *History of Methodist Church*, p. 105.

[42] Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, p. 7.

[43] Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 234-238.

[44] Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, pp. 83-84.

[45] Southern, *Music of*, p. 90.

[46] *The Doctrines and Disciplines of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (3rd ed.; Philadelphia: Crozet, 1832), p. 88.

[47] Besides the chorus presented in the text, these were also popular:

Sinners can you hate the Savior,
  Can you thrust him from your arms;
Here he died for your behavior,
  Now he calls you to his charms.
    (From, *Now the Savior Stands a Pleading*)

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Firm united let us be,
  In the bands of charity;
As a band of brothers join'd,
  Loving God and all mankind.
  (From, Hail the Gospel Jubilee)

See, Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals, pp. 321-325, for a list of favorite wandering choruses.

[48] Samuel Jones and Burgiss Allison, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, Done Under the Appointment of the Philadelphia Association (4th ed.; Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestrow, 1819).

[49] For a list of favorite rhyme pairs, see, Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals, pp. 306-319.

[50] Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals, pp. 2-4.

[51] Benson, English Hymn, p. 25.

[52] For example, see, Bremer, Homes of New World, Vol. I, p. 393; Sketches of Old Virginaia Family Servants (Philadelphia: Issac Ashmead, 1847), p. 77.

[53] [John F. Watson], Methodist Error; or Friendly Christian Advice to Those Methodists Who Indulge in Extravagant Religious Emotions and Bodily Exercises (Trenton: 1819). Reprinted in Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals, p. 27; Southern, Readings in, pp. 62-63.

[54] William Faux, Memorable Days in America (London: W. Simpkin & R. Marshall, 1823), p. 420.

[55] Maria Lydia Child, "Charity Bowery", The Liberty Bell. By Friends of Freedom (Boston: American Antislavery Society, 1839), p. 43.

[56] Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs, pp. 175-176.

[57] See, for instance, Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Journal of Charlotte Forten (London: Collier Books, 1961); Charlotte L. Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands", Atlantic Monthly, 13 (1864), 587-596, 666-676; Thomas W. Higginson, "Negro Spirituals", Atlantic Monthly, 19 (1867), 685-694; Marcel, "The Negro Dialect", Nation, 1 (1865), 744-745; James Miller McKim, "The Freed Man of South Carolina: Address and Letters of J. M. McKim", in Civil War Pamphlets, Vol. 2 (1862); ________, "Negro Songs", Dwight's J. of Music, 19 (1862), 148-149; Lucy McKim, "Songs of the Port Royal Contrabands", Dwight's J. of Music,

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21 (1862), 254-255; Charles Nordhoff, "The Freedman of South-Carolina: Some Account of Their Appearance, Character, Condition, and Peculiar Customs", in *Civil War Pamphlets*, Vol. II (1863); Edward L. Pierce, "The Negroes at Port Royal, Report to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury", in *Pamphlets on Sucession*, Vol. IX (Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1892); ______, "Freedman at Port Royal", *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (1863), 291-315; Henry G. Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto", *Continental Monthly*, 4 (1863), 188-203.

[58] William A. Allen, Charles Ware and Lucy Garrison, Slave Songs of the United States (N. Y.: A. Simpson, 1867).

[59] Parrish, *Slave Songs*, p. 93.

[60] Higginson, "Negro Spirituals", p. 693.

[61] Marcel, "Negro Dialect", p. 745.

[62] Marion Kerby, "A Warning Against Over-Refinement of the Negro Spiritual", *The Musician*, 33 (July, 1928), 30.

[63] Jeanette Robinson Murphy, "The True Negro Music and Its Decline", *The Independent*, 55 (1903), 1724.

[64] Samuel C. Adams, Jr., "The Acculturation of the Delta Negro", *Social Forces*, 26 (1947), 202-205.

[65] William E. Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", *New England Magazine*, n. s. 19 (1898), 454.

[66] Alan Lomax, *The Rainbow Sign: A Southern Documentary* (N. Y.: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959), p. 113.

[67] F. G. Rathburn, "The Negro Music of the South", *Southern Workman*, 22 (1893), 174.

[68] Helen Camp de Corse, *Charlottesville: A Study of Negro Life and Personality* (Publications of the University of Virginia, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, No. 11, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1933), p. 24.

[69] Jeanette Robinson Murphy, "Survival of African Music in America", *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*, 55 (1899), 662.

[70] William E. Barton, "Hymns of the Slave and the Freedman", *New England Magazine*, n. s. 19 (1899), 611.

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[71] Adams, "Acculturation of Negro", 204.

[72] See, for instance, Henry Cleveland Wood, "Negro Camp-Meeting Melodies", *New England Magazine*, n. s. 6 (1892), 61.

[73] See, "Art from the Cabin Door", *Outlook*, 141 (October 21, 1925), 268-269; "Black Voices", *Nation*, 119 (1924), 278; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "The Song of Charleston", *Atlantic*, 146 (1930), 108-111.

[74] J. B. T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers; with Their Songs* (Boston: Houghton & Osgood, 1880).

[75] George R. Ricks, "Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro", unpublished PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1960, pp. 73-76.

[76] See, for example, Geneva Handy Southall, "Art Music of the Blacks in the Nineteenth Century", in *Reflections on Afro-American Music*, ed. by Dominique-Rene DeLerma (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1973), p. 176.

[77] Walter Everette Hawkins, "Debunking the Spirituals", *Challenge*, 1, No. 2 (1934), 13-14.

[78] Lovell, *Black Song*, pp. 382-393.

[79] Marion Williams, Personal Interview, April 3, 1974, Philadelphia, Pa.

[80] Joel Munsell, *Collections on the History of Albany* (Albany: 1867), p. 323. This has been reprinted in Southern, *Readings in*, pp. 40-41.

[81] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1830), p. 483.

[82] *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by James Murray et. al. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933).

[83] Each stanza is taken from the following spirituals in Work, *American Negro Songs*: *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot* (p. 152); *Rise Shine, For Thy Light Is A-Comin'* (p. 47); *Somebody's Buried in the Graveyard* (p. 127); *Great Day* (p. 182).

[84] Frederic Hall, "The Negro Spiritual", *The Midwest Journal*, 1 (1949), 29.

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[85] Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days With the Contrabands* (N. Y.: Arno Press, 1968; 1893), p. 72.

[86] *ibid*., p. 205.

[87] William Wells Brown, *The Negro in the American Rebellion* (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1867), p. 118.

[88] Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (3rd ed.; N. Y.: Oxford University, 1958), p. 99.

[89] *ibid*., p. 93.

[90] Work, *American Negro Songs*, p. 19.

[91] Edward A. McIlhenney, *Befo' De War Spirituals* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1933), p. 30.

[92] Lena McLin, "Black Music in Church and School", in *Black Music in Our Culture*, ed. by Dominique-Rene de Lerma (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1970), pp. 39-40.

[93] *The Nation*, 4 (May 30, 1867), 433.

[94] Robinson, "Coloured People", p. 59.

[95] Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma, 1962), pp. 91-92.

[96] Winifred K. Vass, "The Bantu-Speaking Heritage of the United States", unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, 1971, p. 323.

[97] Hentoff, "Mahalia Jackson", p. 16.

[98] See, Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 128-132, 391-392.

[99] Elsie Clews Parsons, "From 'Spiritual' to Vauldville", *J. of American Folklore*, 35 (1922), 331.

[100] Hentoff, "Mahalia Jackson", p. 16.

[101] Williams, Personal Interview.

[102] Robert Stevenson, "Ira D. Sankey and 'Gospel Hymnody'", *Religion in Life*, 20 (Winter No., 1950-1951), 85.

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[103] Tony Heilbut, *The Gospel Sound* (N. Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1971), p. 62.

[104] For a discussion, see, McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 166-169; Weisberger, *At the River*, pp. 160-174.

[105] Weisberger, *At the River*, p. 168.

[106] McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 224-227.

[107] For a discussion of the gospel hymns, see, Albert Edward Bailey, *The Gospel in Hymns* (N. Y.: Charles Scribner, 1950); Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 482-492; Brawley, *History of the English Hymn*, pp. 203-221; James C. Downey, "The Gospel Hymn, 1875-1930", unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern Mississippi, 1963; __________, "Revivalism, the Gospel Songs and Social Reform", *Ethnomusicology*, 9 (1965), 115-125; Foote, *American Hymnody*, pp. 263-271; Charles E. Gold, "A Study of the Gospel Song", unpublished M.M. thesis, University of Southern California, 1953.

[108] Chase, *America's Music*, p. 165.

[109] op. cit. (Chicago: Root and Cody, 1862).

[110] Downey, "Revivalism", p. 120.

[111] op. cit., in *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 Complete* by Ira D. Sankey et al. (N. Y.: DaCapo, 1972; 1895), p. 450

[112] Downey, "Gospel Hymn", pp. 67-68.

[113] Weisberger reports an interesting incident in which a woman professed only a superficial sense of repentance. Yet she was warmly commented upon her faith in Christ. Her attitude would have been thought of as that of a "cold and stupid professor" during the Second Great Awakening (At the River, p. 171).

[114] "Call Them In" by Anna Shipton & Ira Sankey, in *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6*, p. 48.

[115] "Bright Canaan", in *The Wesleyan Psalmist or Songs of Canaan*, comp. by M. L. Scudder (Boston: D. S. King, 1843), p. 15; "O Wondrous Land", in *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6* by Sankey et al., p. 344.

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[116] For instance, see various sections in, Richard S. Rhodes, ed., *Dwight Lyman Moody's Life Work and Gospel Sermons* (Chicago: Rhodes and McClure, 1900).

[117] Downey, "Revivalism", pp. 119-124.

[118] McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 307-308.

[119] Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, pp. 57-58.

[120] Haskell, "Negro Spirituals", p. 577.

[121] "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder", by B. M. J. & J. M. Black, in *The Gospel Message, No. 1*, ed. by J. Lincoln Hall, C. Austin Miles, and Adam Geibel (Philadelphia: Hall-Mack, 1911), No. 121. This is not the same song as the spiritual titled, *When that General Roll Is Called* (Barton, "Hymns of the Slave", p. 621) or *I'll Be There* (Work, American Negro, p. 57).

[122] Howard W. Odum, "Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negroes", *American J. of Religious Psychology and Education*, 3 (1908-1909), 362.

[123] Personal observations, 1974, Philadelphia, Pa.

[124] Higginson, "Negro Spirituals", p. 692; Barton, "Hymns of the Slave", pp. 619-621; Leon F. Litwack, "Free At Last", in *Anonymous Americans*, ed. by Tamara K. Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 150-151; Cleveland G. Allen, "The Negro's Contribution to American Music", *Current History*, 26 (1927), 249.

[125] Robinson, "True Negro Music", p. 1728.

[126] Lucile Price Turner, "Negro Spirituals in the Making", *Musical Quarterly*, 17 (1931), 482.

[127] John W. Work, "Changing Patterns in Negro Folk Songs", *J. of American Folklore*, 62 (1949), 141.

[128] For example, *We're Going To Have A Good Time, Over In Beulah Lan'* by Virgie Carrington DeWitty (Austin, Texas: By the Author, 1965).

[129] Beverly Taylor, Personal Interview, November 30, 1973, Philadelphia, Pa.

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[130] "Keep a-Inchin' Along", in *Religious Folk Songs of the Negro /Hampton Institute/* (New ed.; N. Y.: AMS Press, 1973; 1920), pp. 154-155.

[131] "Keep Inchin' Along", in Odum, *Religious Folk-Songs*, p. 322.

[132] Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, p. 62.

[133] *ibid*. Some of Tindley's songs were: *Beams of Heaven*, *I'll Overcome*, *Nothing Between*, *Stand By Me*, *Take Your Burden to the Lord*, *The Storm Is Passing Over*, *We'll Understand It Better By and By*, *What Are They Doing in Heaven?*

[134] Arna Bontemps, "Rock, Church, Rock!", *Common Ground*, 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1942), 76.

[135] Bontemps, "Rock, Church", pp. 75-80; Thomas A. Dorsey, "Gospel Music", in *Reflections on Afro-American Music*, ed. by Dominique-Rene DeLerma (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1973), pp. 189-195; ________, *Songs With a Message, With My Ups and Downs* (Chicago, 1941); Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, pp. 56-71; Paul Oliver, "Georgia Tom", *Jazz Monthly*, 7, No. 9 (November, 1961), 6-8; Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 133-138; Hollie I. West, "The Man Who Started the Gospel Business", *Washington Post* (December 7, 1969), H-10.

[136] Work, "Changing Patterns", p. 141.

[137] Oliver, "Georgia Tom", p. 8.

[138] Paul Oliver, *Conversations With the Blues* (N. Y.: Horizon Press, 1965), p. 24.

[139] *ibid*., p. 168.

[140] Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 139-140.

[141] Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, p. 216.

[142] Williams, Personal Interview.

[143] Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, p. 70.

[144] West, "Gospel Business", p. H-10.

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[145] For example, see, Thomas Hart Benton, An Artist in America (N. Y.: Robert M. McBride, 1937); Norman Eddy, "Store-Front Religion", Religion in Life, 28 (1958-1959), 73; Gayle D. Wardlow, "Rev. D. C. Rice - Gospel Singer", Storyville, No. 23 (June-July, 1969), 165-167; Elizabeth Waugh, "All God's Children", Travel, 77 (May, 1941), 45; Work, "Changing Patterns", p. 140.

[146] Hollie I. West, "Singing About Holiness and the Salvation of Man", Washington Post (December 7, 1969), H-1.

[147] Williams, Personal Interview. See also, West, "Singing About Holiness", p. H-1.

[148] Rock Gospel: The Key to the Kingdom", Motown M743L.

[149] Joe Dan Boyd, "Judge Jackson: Black Giant of White Spirituals", J. of American Folklore, 83 (1970), 446-451; ________, "Negro Sacred Harp Songsters in Mississippi", Mississippi Folklore Register, 5 (1971), 60-83; George Pullen Jackson, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands (N. Y.: Dover, 1965; 1933), pp. 408-409.

[150] J. Jackson, The Colored Sacred Harp (Ozark, Ala.: J. Jackson, 1931.

[151] For a discussion, see, Jackson, White Spirituals.

[152] ibid., p. 4.

CHAPTER XII

LITERARY STRUCTURE

What we will mean by "structure" in this chapter is the internal organization of the text at the surface level. This will include versification, the language of the text, chorus-stanza organization, the narrative to lyric continuum and general viewpoint in the songs. Much of this has already been referred to in previous chapters but here these ideas will be collected for comparative reasons.

PSALMS AND HYMNS

Sixteenth century England, under the rule of Calvinism, employed a traditional approach to Psalmody where only the original bibical texts were allowed. Later, these Psalms were re-composed, by such writers as Watts, to fit current liturgical needs. These revisions conformed to the popular poetic styles of the day and at times were major alterations of the original texts where only the main intent of the Psalm was spared. For instance, Watts composed three versions of the 23rd. Psalm to correspond to the three types of measure - long, common and short.[1] Each varied sharply from the bibical text. The bibical

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version follows.

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He resoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for
  his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the
  shadow of death, I will fear no evil
for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff
  they comfort me.

This text, from Watts, was written for short measure.

The Lord my shepherd is,
  I shall be well supply'd:
Since he is mine, and I am his,
  What can I want beside?

He leads me to the place,
  Where heavenly pasture grows,
Where living waters gently pass,
  And full salvation flows.

If e'er I go astray,
  He doth my soul reclaim;
And guides me in his own right way,
  For his most holy name.[2]

Along with his hymns, Watts' psalms became quite popular among black congregations. Other writers besides Watts were also adopted and the original bibical texts continued to be used. An interesting contemporary recording of the 23rd. Psalm picks and chooses a few verse lines from the original bibical text to comprise the song.

The Lord is my shepherd,
  I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down.

He resoreth my soul
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness
for his name's sake.

7

Surely goodness and mercy
Shall follow me
All the days of my life.[3]

The psalms and hymns written by Watts and such men as Charles Wesley, John Newton and John Leland mirrored a high literary quality. All were well-trained in writing verse in the accepted literary modes of the day. In other words, their art was founded on rules which reflected an aesthetic achievement in belles lettres. Wesley was especially adept in his ability to properly phrase difficult wording and stanzas, repleat with Anglo-Saxon and Latin terms. We have already pointed out his penchant for unique meters, a fact which allowed great versatility and inventive possibility. Baker has regarded this facet of Wesley's ability as, "without parallel in the verse of that century, and perhaps only paralleled by Shelley in the century that followed."[4] A major contribution by Wesley, to religious lyrics, was his use of mixed iambic-anapestic meter. Iambic is an unstressed followed by a stressed syllable, while anapestic is two unstressed syllables followed by a stressed one. An example is, Ye Heavenly Choir. The symbol "x" represents an unstressed and "/" a stressed syllable.

```
 x   x   / x   /
Ye heav-en-ly choir,
 x   /  x  x   /
As-sist me to sing,
 x    /    x    x   /
And strike the soft lyre,
 x   x  /   x   /
And hon-our our King:
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x / x / x /
His might-y sal-va-tion
x / x x /
De-mands all our Praise,
x / x / x /
Our best a-dor-a-tion,
x / x x /
And loft-i-est Lays.[5]

The lines are a mixture of five and six feet and follows the pattern: 5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5. Watts wrote only five hymns in this meter. Wesley's ease in handling such meters gave his hymns a smoothness and flow unequalled even by Watts.

A structural device which Wesley seems to have been quite practiced at was "chiasmus".[6] The usual fare was to bind together two lines having similar ideas in a given couplet, followed by another set. But in this instance, one line, having idea A, is followed by two lines of set B, which is completed by one line of A. One example given by Manning is from, Come Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Honour the means ordain'd by thee.

A We now thy promised presence claim,
B sent to disciple all mankind,
B Sent to baptize into thy Name,
A We now thy promised presence find.

Note the relationship of "promised presence" and "sent to" in the lines.

Watts was especially fond of a kind of parallelism in which ideas, phrases or words are repeated. An example is, Go, Preach My Gospel.

Go, preach my Gospel, 'Saith the Lord;
'Bid the whole earth my grace receive:
He shall be sav'd, who trusts my word;
He shall be damn'd, who won't believe.

I'll make your great commission known;
And ye shall prove my gospel true,
By all the works that I have done,
By all the wonders ye shall do.

Go, heal the sick; go, raise the dead;
Go, cast out devils in my hame:
Nor let my prophets be afraid,
Though Greeks reproach, and Jews blasphame.[7]

Wesley went a step further with repetition by repeating an entire couplet in three lines, such as in Wrestling Jacob, as well as slightly varying the last line throughout the hymns to emphasize Jacob's shift from doubt to acknowledged love in God.[8] He also used refrains which were integrated parts of the hymn, unlike the apirituals where a chorus might wander from song to song and have nothing to do with the development of an idea or thought. As we shall see, some refrains used by black congregations seem illogically positioned with their verse. An example of Wesley's use of the refrain is, Rejoice, the Lord is King.

Lift up your Heart, Lift up your Voice,
Rejoice, again, I say, Rejoice.[9]

There were a horde of other literary and structural devices employed by these hymn writers. One can discuss Watts' use of accumulation of ideas, his use of proper names, and the use of allusion, epigramms, homiletic verse, various types of rhyming, etc., by scores of other writers.

Essentially, Wesley and others of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, conceived their work as poems. However, Watts was an interesting exception.

> Watts insisted that the Hymn must be kept outside the realm of poetry, stripped of poetic suggestiveness, and be written down to the level of the meanest capacity. Wesley maintained that the Hymn should be a religious lyric and create the impression of lyrical poetry; that the masses must be lifted up to the level of the Hymn, and made to feel the beauty and inspiration of poetry.[10]

In many ways, Watts' conceptualization and purpose in his songs seems very reminiscent of the unlettered writers of spirituals in which the primary purpose was in maintaining a sense of community and deliverance. Any aesthetic notion was totally secondary.

The main characteristic of these hymns, which is more central to our interest in black culture, is their content and inherent meaning for Afro-Americans. Marion Williams feels that the hymn has more lyrical meaning than other songs.

> They've got some bad hymns, ooh! (handclap) The hymns I live. To me now, singing the hymns have more meaning to them, I don't know.[11]

Mahalia Jackson, addressing herself to the "Dr. Watts" songs said,

> Now you're talking about the power. Those songs, hmmmm, they come out of conviction and suffering. The worst voices can get through singing them, cause they're telling their experiences.[12]

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The hymns are many things to just as many people. An "educated" black church might sing them because they are part of the accepted liturgical organization. Those of lesser means may see the words as a mirror of all their troubles. The songs, then, become enmeshed with the spiritual and gospel songs because they tell the same story and mimic the black experience.

It may have been that the Methodist and other evangelical hymns achieved a popularity in the nineteenth century due to their notion of free grace and salvation for all. Certainly Wesley's songs emphasize this. The following is one of his most direct on the subject. Note the references to "all", "world to save", "general saviour", and "undistinguishing".

> Father, whose Everlasting Love
>   Thy only Son for Sinners gave;
> Whose Grace to All did freely move,
>   And sent him down a World to save.
>
> Help us thy Mercy to extol,
>   Immense, Unfathom'd Unconfin'd;
> To praise the Lamb who died for All,
>   The General Saviour of Mankin.
>
> Thy Undistinguishing Regard
>   Was cast on Adam's fallen Race:
> For All Thou hast in Christ prepar'd
>   Sufficient, Sovereign, Saving Grace.[13]

Another example, which was published in Richard Allen's hymnbook, in 1801, was Jerusalem, My Happy Home by Cowper, an associate of John Newton.

Reach down, reach down, thine arm of grace,
  And cause me to ascend,
Where congregations ne'er break up,
  And Sabbaths never end.

Jesus my love to glory's gone,
  Him will I go and see;
And all my brethern her below,
  Will soon come after me.[14]

Charles Wesley also wrote a version of this song which reads much better. In the Wesleyan Psalmist, it was called Langtree.[15]

The Calvinist doctrine pleaded for the Sovereignty of God, a proclamation which the later evangelists agreed with, but not the attending corollaries of election and pre-destination. Watts' Keep Silence, All Created Things, which sustains Calvinist dogma, was not the type to be favored by nineteenth century evangelists.

Keep Silence - all created things,
  And wait your Maker's nod;
My Soul stands trembling while she sings
  the honours of her God.

Life, death, and hell, and worlds unknown,
  Hang on his firm decree;
He sits on no precarious throne,
  Nor borrows leave - to be.

Chain'd to his throne a volume lies,
  With all the fates of men;
With ev'ry angel's form and size,
  Drawn by th' eternal pen.

Not Gabriel asks the reason why,
  Nor God the reason given;
Nor dares the fav'rite angel pry
  Between the folden leaves.

My God, I would not long to see
  My fate, with curious eyes;
What gloomy lines are writ for me,
  Or what bright scenes may rise.

In thy fair book of life and grace,
  O may I find my name,
Recorded in some humble place,
  Beneath my Lord - the Lamb.[16]

Its message, seemingly, would have sent fear, if not paranoia, through a congregation.

Not all of Watts' songs were written with such trepidation. There exists in his pen what Manning describes as,

> the most frank and most moving recital of the weakness, the unsatisfactoriness, the transcience of human life. The hopes and fears of men Watts portrays with a tender but unflinching hand. No man has analyzed more faithfully the doubts and hopes and fears that we all have.[17]

And perhaps this is one facet of his work which black Americans felt deeply and which Mahalia Jackson understood. The burden and trouble of one's life, the dangers and dispair, yet the knowledge of God's assurance in guiding one through all of this. It gave the individual courage and confidence. Hymns of this nature were favored by blacks. This theme is dominant in many which have been sung by them since the nineteenth century (see Appendix three). I Love the Lord He Heard My Cry, by Watts, is typical.

I love the Lord; he heard my cries,
  And pity'd ev'ry groan:
Long as I live, when troubles rise,
  I'll hasten to his throne.

I love the Lord: he bow'd his ear,
  And chas'd my griefs away:
O let my heart no more despair,
  While I have breath to pray![18]

One of Watts' best hymns, speaks directly of God's help to the troubled.

When I can read my title clear
  To mansions in the skies,
I bid farewell to ev'ry fear,
  And wipe my weeping eyes.

Should earth against my soul engage,
  And hellish darts be hurl'd;
The I can smile at Satan's rage,
  And face a frowning world.

Let cares like a wild deluge come,
  And storms of sorrow fall;
May I but safely reach my home,
  My God, my heaven, my all: -

There shall I bathe my weary soul
  In seas of heavenly rest;
And not a wave of trouble roll
  Across my peaceful breast.[19]

This same theme may be found in, Father, I Stretch My Hands To Thee (Wesley), The Day Is Past and Gone (Leland), Amazing Grace (Newton), Am I a Soldier of the Cross (Watts), Come, Ye That Love the Lord (Watts), Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove (Watts) and I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say (Bonar), all popular with black congregations.

The language of this particular type of hymn was effective in producing the right mood for special occasions.

I recall a notably moving experience during a service of a sanctified church in Philadelphia. I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say became a symbol of God's power in helping those with troubles. While the song was sung, the pastor spoke of seeking him to lighten your burdens. Another hymn, I Surrender All, was followed by a laying on of hands. The entire event was tantamount to relieving those frustrations and problems of everyday living. The laying on of hands signified God's power coming through the prayers of the pastor. It was a renewal and a good example of gaining courage or what we have previously called, magara. Some members of the congregation fell out when touched by the Bishop.

The congregation stood. Upon completion of the first stanza to, I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say, the pastor spoke above the chording of the piano.

I heard the voice of Jesus say,
  "Come unto Me and rest;
Lay down, thou weary one,
  lay down thy head upon My breast."

> You know the reason God uses many voices is because we have many problems.
> He reaches us with a million facets of our lives.
> The voice you hear makes me look unto you.
> The voice I hear makes you look unto me.
> When he reaches us in a way we can reach him.
> And may we be polite to take the time.
> But what I'm glad about; that he's not limited to one voice nor to one face, nor to one faith, nor to one condition.
> But that he's a God of the Universe.
> And he reaches in at (peace).
> He can solve any problem.

I'm a living witness today that God is.
He is whatever you believe.
He can do everything, that you believe that he can do.
The song is said, I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say.
[Singing of the song resumes]
And what he was saying was, come unto me and rest.
See, we are tired. Somebody's (soul is tired).
You're tired of whatever...and whatever you do you're tired. But you're trying like it or not tired.
That causes a nervous breakdown.
Some people are exhausted but they won't admit that they're exhausted.
And this cause, for disastrous conditions.
We're weak.
We're weak and Thou art strong in everything.
I want you to lift your mind.
I want everybody to ____and close your eyes.
I want you to forget where everybody is.
Don't look at anybody.
I want you to take both your hands and raise them up....
I want you to get your mind on God.
Now listen to this. I...Surrender...All...[sung][20]

For the most part, black congregations did not rearrange the lyrics to these hymns. Changes did occur from dissatisfaction with certain words or fogetfulness. The songs were invariably lined out by the pastor who may have used a hymn book for the purpose. An interesting set of recordings produced by Frederic Ramsey, Jr., for Folkways, during the 1950s, has a number of these hymns sung in the old manner of lining-out. The singers still read out of books handed down by their family for several generations. An interesting variation in, That Awful Day Will Surely Come (Watts), was reported by Ferris. Below, the first stanza is that originally written by Watts, followed by the congregation's version.

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That awful day will surely come,
  Th' appointed hour makes haste -
When I must stand before my Judge,
  And pass the solemn test.[21]

That awful day will surely come,
  Yes, for the night is almost here.
When I must stand before my Judge,
  When death is come to here.[22]

In summary, we can say that the hymn was composed by the efforts of poets who strove to maintain their pieces in the highest of literary quality. The type became popular among black congregations, disregarding the factor of liturgical need, because they saw a great amount of symbolic meaning which reflected their own personal experiences.

ANTHEMS

In the previous chapter, we have touched on the use of these songs by black congregations. In this, we will only say that the anthem is of a high literary quality, like the English hymn. However, where the hymns appear to have been used by all types of congregations, anthems - undoubtedly due to the nature of their construction - were sung only where choirs were present. As we have said, they are compositions for voices in which each section responds antiphonally. The following is an example. The entries to the right denote the parts for each section.

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Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.	3 voices 2 tr. con.
Every valley shall be exhalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places shall be made plain.	bass
And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed: and all flesh shall see it together.	chorus
And the voice said, cry. What shall I cry? All flesh is grace, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field.	2 trebles
The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of the LORD shall stand fast forever.	chorus
O Zion, that bringest glad tidings, get thee up into the mountains: O Jerusalem, that bringest glad tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; and say unto Judah, Behold thy God.	4 voices
O Jerusalem, that, etc.[23]	chorus

An interesting version of the 150th. Psalm, arranged in anthem style for voices, was recorded by the Christian Tabernacle Choir and titled Praise Ye the Lord.[24] The pastor leads by first stating the lines of the text to which the choir responds. The approach is reminiscent of the traditional form of lining-out but in this case appears to be only a technical adaptation.

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FOLK-HYMNS

As we have discussed in the preceding chapter, the usefulness of this category for black culture is limited due to the lack of proper sources for identification of the material. Although there is some similarity between such songs as, Now the Saviour Stands a Pleading, in Jackson's and Allen's collections, we do not know the tunes used by the Allen congregation. Nevertheless, the text of the first two of six stanzas is presented below as being a possible representative of the type.

Now the Savior stands a pleading
  At the sinner's bolted heart
Now in heaven is interceding,
  Undertaking sinners part.

chorus:
Sinners can you hate the Saviour,
  Can you thrust him from your arms;
Here he died for your behaviour,
  Now he calls you to his charms.

Now he pleads his sweat and bloodshed,
  Shews his wounded hands and feet -
Father save them tho' they're blood red,
  Raise them to an heavenly seat.[25]

The text of this song reads not unlike the standard hymns of the day with its abab rhyming scheme.

There are a few songs in Allen's collection which were undoubtedly written by lesser poets of the day. Come All Ye Poor Sinners, O Don't You Hear the Alarm and Behold That Great and Awful Day are examples.[26] The former was pointed out by Jackson as being one of the many hymns written

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around the time of the Revolution and being favored by rural congregations.[27] Its imagery, although effective, is unsophisticated as typified by the couplet,

> For if you deny Christ, he will deny you
> You'll be found on his left hand with the
>   wicked crew.

O Don't You Hear the Alarm, asks for volunteers in the army of Jesus to make battle with their enemies. Some of the wording is confusing and awkward like "sounds" and "bounds" and the phrase, "we'll take the large possession", in the following verses.

> O Don't you hear the alarm,
>   Hark - how the trumpet sounds:
> It is the Lord of glory,
>   That gives the gospel bounds.
>
> In peace we'll wear the Laurel,
>   When our foes are slain,
> We'll take the large possession,
>   Where peace forever reigns.

And finally in, Behold That Great and Awful Day, the anguish of sinners andthe gagging of the devil trips over itself.

> Behold that great and awful day
>   Of parting soon will come,
> When sinners must be hurl'd away;
>   And Christians gather'd home!
>
> The one with Divestor water cry,
>   And gnaw their tongues in pain,
> They gnash their teeth and crisp and fry,
>   And wring their hands in vain.
>
> Now hail! all hail! ye frightful ghosts,
>   With whom I once did dwell,
> And spent my days in frantic mirth,
>   And danc'd my soul to hell!

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You me about the floor did drag,
  And caus'd my soul to sin;
And devils now your mouth shall gag,
  And force the fuel in.

THE SPIRITUAL

The spirituals were the product of a particular religious period which spawned excesses in fervor and zealousness and an informal song type that drew its breath from the hymns and imagination of a fired multitude. Bits and pieces of hymns were taken and combined at will with units of choruses. Or passages from the scriptures were invested with vivid phrasing and given life at the camp-meetings. Whereas folk-hymns were integrated songs, spirituals were unstable aggregates of wandering hymn couplets and choruses. A given couplet or chorus might have been part of any number of spirituals. A good example of building from hymn fragments - the context in which it took place being discussed in the previous chapter - is I Want to Die A-Shouting.[28] The first two stanzas are given below, the first four lines of each being referred to as the "refrain".

Amazing grace, how sweet the sound!
  I Want to die a-shouting!
I want to feel my Saviour near,
  When soul and body's parting.
Jesus my all to heaven is gone,
  I want to die a-shouting!
He whom I fix my hopes upon,
  I want to die a-shouting!

Am I a soldier of the cross?
  I want to die a-shouting!
I want to feel my Saviour near,
  When soul and body's parting.
Must Jesus bear the cross alone?
  I want to die a-shouting!
No, there's a cross for every one,
  I want to die a-shouting!

The first line of the initial stanza was drawn from, Amazing Grace. The fifth and seventh were taken from, Jesus, My All, to Heaven Is Gone by John Cennick. "Am I a Soldier of the Cross?" was adapted from the Watts hymn of the same name. The fifth and seventh lines of the second stanza came from Must Jesus Bear the Cross Alone? by Thomas Shepherd. Interspersed with these single lines and couplets is the repetitive line, "I want to die a-shouting".

The lines to Am I a Soldier, found above, also were used in separate songs together with other stanzas from the Watts hymn. Two examples are Soldier of the Cross and Crownd Him Lord of All.[29] The couplet,

Jesus my all to heaven is gone,
He whom I fix my hopes upon.

was also found in I Want to Go Where Jesus Is.[30] "Amazing Grace, how Sweet the Sound" also turned up in, If Anybody Asks You Who I Am.[31] There are a multitude of other examples, these few serving as indicators of the building blocks.

The chorus, as well, operated in similar terms. We have already mentioned the "Hallelujah to the Lamb" chorus in two of Richard Allen's hymns - From Regions of Love and The Voice of Free Grace. Kilham remarked that a favorite chorus or refrain of black congregations was, "Shall we know each other there?" Underlining the rather loose manner in song synthesis, she observed,

> This they sing with almost everything, sometimes in rather startling association, as,
> "Plunged in a gulf of dark despair, -
> chorus - Shall we know each other,
> Shall we know each other there?"
> Or,
> "Hark from the tombs a doleful sound, -
> chorus - Shall we know each other there?"
> Or this, which is one of the most popular:
> "Hell is a dark an' a drefful affair,
> An' ef I war a sinner I wouldn't go dae, -
> chorus - Shall we know each other there?"
> And they make almost all their hymns into this kind of patchwork, without apparently, the slightest perception of any incongruity in the sentiments thus joined together.[32]

The verse-chorus alternation is the basic structural unit of the spiritual.[33] A typical example is, The Downward Road Is Crowded.

Chorus:
O the downward road is crowded,
crowded, crowded,
O the downward road is crowded
with unbelievin' souls.

The win' blows East, an' the win' blows West,
It blows like the judgement day,
An' ev'ry po' soul that never did pray,
Will be glad to pray that day.

Some people say they believe in him,
An' then won't do what he say,
You can't ride the empty air,
An' get to heaven that day.[34]

Another type has the same alternation of verse and chorus

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but includes a refrain interspersed within the verse couplets as well as the chorus.[35] An example is, Go Down Moses.

When Israel was in Egypt's land,
  Let my people go!
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
  Let my people go!

    chorus:
Go down Noses
  'Way down in Egypt's land,
Tell old Pharoah
  Let my people go!

"Thus saith the Lord" bold Moses said,
  Let my people go!
"If not I'll smite your first-born dead"
  Let my people go![36]

Some of the songs have no distinct chorus (although they may have) but are built upon a single verse line and refrain. Forten described one from the Sea Islands.

"I wonder where my mudder gone;
  Sing, O graveyard!
Graveyard ought to know me;
  Ring, Jerusalem!
Grass grow in de graveyard;
  Sing, O graveyard!
Graveyard ought to know me;
  Ring, Jerusalem!"[37]

She mentions it as being, "one of the strangest, most mournful things I ever heard."

A similar type has been called by Robert W. Gordon and James Weldon Johnson, the earliest form of the spirituals and one which resembles African song structure.[38] Gordon pointed out that the songs do not have, "a clearly marked tune or melody" but are sung in a monotonous sing-song chant. There is no division into verses but is performed in a continuous fashion. Gordon dated two of these to a time preceding the War of 1812. The songs may be of a single line or couplet with an added refrain. An example of the former is given below.

Oh, old man, Satan,
  Glory hallelujah,
I think I ought to know you.
  Glory hallelujah,
Oh, old man Satan,
  Glory hallelujah,
I think I ought to know you.
  Glory, hallelujah,
Sit yourself in de corner,
  Glory hallelujah,
Rub your face in de ashes,
  Glory hallelujah,
You call yourself my Jedus,
  Glory hallelujah,
I think I ought to know you.
  Glory hallelujah,
I know you by your red eye,
  Glory hallelujah,
I know you by your cow horn,
  Glory hallelujah,
Oh, old man Satan,
  Glory, hallelujah,
You cheat me once already,
  Glory hallelujah,
etc.

Although the similarity to spirituals sung during the ring-shout is apparent, the context of performance is different. Johnson likens the spiritual, Oh, Wasn't Dat A Wide Ribber to two African songs having similar organization.

Give flesh to the hyemas at daybreak-
  Oh, the broad spears!
The spear of the Sultan is the broadest-
  Oh, the broad spears!

I behold thee now, I desire to see none other-
  Oh, the broad spears!
My house is as tall as a high wall-
  Oh, the broad spears!
etc.

Exactly when black Americans began to sing Christianized religious songs in this manner will probably never be known but if Gordon's dating process is correct, it may have been well before 1800. The earliest reference to a three-line stanza, i. e., a couplet plus its refrain, appeared in an 1839 publication but dated back to ca. 1831.

A few more beatings of the wind and rain,
Ere the winter will be over-
  Glory, Hallelujah!

Some friends has gone before me-
I must try to go and meet them-
  Glory, Hallelujah![39]

This is about the earliest reference of any religious song text sung by black Americans (see pages 227-228).

The implication of this early spiritual-type is important, for it indicates that blacks were singing spiritual-like songs in a three-line stanzaic form prior to the camp-meetings. During the Second Great Awakening, a more complex stanzaic structure arose - the quatrain verse alternating with a chorus. However, the three-line fabrication continued into the nineteenth century, being also referred to as spirituals. Nevertheless, at this early date, these songs should be properly regarded as predacessors of the spiritual. The one structural aspect

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of the camp-meeting hymns which stood out and with which many writers in fact named them, was the "chorus". The earlier songs had a refrain but not a distinct chorus. It seems, then, that the process may have been similar to the following pattern. During the middle part of the eighteenth century, when many Afro-Americans became converted, they filled African song structures with the content of Christianized dogma. Within the camp-meetings, a cultural mixing occurred. The verse-chorus form, which may have been influenced by the white ballad, took its place as the major scheme for the stanzaic structure of the spiritual. The three-line type continued in use but was not as prevalent. It would indeed be beneficial to know if these pre-spirituals acted as a corpus of source material, like the folk-hymn did, for the camp-meeting spiritual. There is no other existant information on the content or development of the three-line (or two-line)stanzaic form.

Generally speaking, spirituals are in iambic meter. The lines of the verse may be in tetrameter; in other cases tetra- alternating with trimeter ("Ballad" meter) or with dimeter. An example of tetrameter is, The Angels Done Bowed Down.

x / x x x / x / x x /
While Je-sus was a-hang-ing up-on the cross, (4)
x / x x / x x / x /
the an-gels kept qui-et till God went off, (4)

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x x / x x x / x x /
And the an-gels hung their harps on the wil- (4)
x /
low trees,
x / x x / x x / x
to give sat-is-fac-tion till God was (4)
/
pleased.[40]

But notice here that the verse is not in strict iambic tetrameter but is mixed with anapestic. This is typical of most of the songs. An example of tetrameter alternating with trimeter is the verse of The Downward Road Is Crowded, discussed above.

x / x / x x / x /
The win' blows East, an' the win' blows West, (4)
x / x x / x /
It blows like the judgement day, (3)
x / x x / x / x x /
An' ev'ry po' soul that never did pray, (4)
x x / x / x /
Will be glad to pray that day. (3)

Go Down Moses, given above, demonstrates tetrameter alternating with a dimeter refrain,

x / x x / x / x /
When Is-ra-el was in Egypt's land, (4)
x x / x /
Let my people go! (2)
x / x / x / x /
Oppressed so hard they could not stand, (4)
x x / x /
Let my people go! (2)

The chorus as well may be in a variety of meters. One in tetrameter would be that sung to, I Want to Go Where Jesus Is.

x / x / x / x /
I want to go where Jesus is, (4)
x / x / x / x /
To play upon the golden harp.[41] (4)
(repeated three times)

In this case, the three final lines of the stanza are repeated. The reverse may occur where the last line is a refrain such as in Sabbath Has No End and Who's Dat Yandah.[42] Or, the refrain may appear as the third line, shown by This World Is Not My Home (not in tetrameter).

This world is not my home,
This world is not my home,
This world's a howling wilderness,
This world is not my home.[43]

However, there are a great number of variations in length of the line and the number per stanza, in both the verse as well as the chorus.[44]

The slave poet was not concerned with sophisticated constructions or felt compelled to arrange his verse according to academic rules. There was more concern with effect and meaning. Barton observed that due to the great variations in meter within certain songs, the musical notation had to be adjusted properly.

> In all these hymns the notes must adjust themselves to variations in meter. The words of successive stanzas vary in length, and the notes must be varied also. In writing the notes, one has to compromise.[45]

The organization of verses is not strict, i.e., they may be in any order. McIlhenny observed that,

> The stanzas never occur twice in the same order, but are sung as they come to the mind of the singer,

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> and as the singer will improvise as he sings, the number of stanzas that may be sung is unlimited and is governed solely by the time that particular song is wanted to be sung.[46]

When the songs do rhyme, it may be abcb such as in, Go Tell It On the Mountain.

While Shepherds kept their watching, (a)
  O'er silent flocks by night, (b)
Behold throughout the heavens, (c)
  There shone a holy light.[47] (b)

When the verse has a refrain after each line, the rhyme is shifted to the first and third lines, as in, Give Me Your Hand.

You say you're aiming for the skies
  You must be loving at God's command,
Why don't you quit you're telling lies?
  You must be loving at God's command.[48]

We have previously discussed the composition of spirituals from bits and pieces of hymn couplets and lines. The songs may also have been conceived from original material or scriptures, such as those concerning the bibical heroes. This latter aspect will be discussed below. An extension of the former case is the re-arrangement of an idea from a hymn to one which is more in keeping with black thought, imagery and language. Not always can these songs be traced in this manner. An example is Watts' Am I A Soldier of the Cross? and the spiritual Do You Think I'll Make a Soldier? The former is given first below.

Am I a soldier of the cross?
  A follower of the Lamb!
And shall I fear to own his cause,
  Or Blush to speak his name?

Must I be carry'd to the skies,
  On flowery beds of ease?
Whilst others fought to win the prize,
  And sail'd through bloody seas?

Are there no foes for me to face?
  Must I not stem the flood?
Is this vile world a friend to grace,
  To help me on to God?

Sure I must fight, if I would reign;
  Increase my courage, Lord;
I'll bear the toil, endure the pain,
  Supported by thy word.

Thy saints, in all this glorious war,
  Shall conquer, though they die;
They view the triumph from afar,
  And seize it with their eye.

When that illustrious day shall rise,
  And all thy armies shine,
In robes of victory, through the skies-
  The glory shall be thine.[49]

The hymn essentially presents a conflict in the individual over his relationship with Christ which develops into a realization of courage and patience for his long awaited glory in heaven. The spiritual basically states the same thing and that prayer will give him courage as he climbs Jacob's ladder.

Do you think I'll make a soldier, soldier?
    (repeat three times)
  Soldier of the Cross?

    Chorus:
Rise, Shine, give God the glory, glory
    (repeat three times)
  Soldiers of the cross.

Yes, I think you'll make a soldier, soldier
(repeat three times)
Soldier of the cross.

Earnest pray'rs will make a soldier, soldier
(repeat three times)
Soldier of the cross.

I am climbing Jacob's ladder, ladder
(repeat three times)
Soldier of the cross.

Ev'ry round goes higher and higher, higher
(repeat three times)
Soldier of the Cross.[50]

Another example is the hymn, Behold the Awful Trumpet Sounds and various spirituals titled, My Lord What a Mourning, When the Stars Begin to Fall, Why Will Ye Die in That Day?, Stars Begin to Fall.[51]

Behold the awful trumpet sounds,
The sleeping dead to raise,
And calls the nations under ground:
O how the Saints will praise!

Behold the Saviour how he comes
Descending from his throne
To burst asunder all our tombs
And lead his children home.

But who can bear that dreadful day,
To see the world in flames;
The burning mountains melt away,
While rocks run down in streams.

The falling stars their orbits leave,
The sun in darkness hides;
The elements asunder cleave,
The moon turn'd into blood!

Behold the universal world
In consternation stand,
The wicked into Hell are turn'd,
The Saints at God's right hand.

O then the music will begin,
  Their Saviour God to praise;
They are all freed from every sin
  And thus they'll spend their days.[52]

The main theme is Judgement Day when the world will shake apart and the faithful will be led home. In the spiritual, When the Stars Begin to Fall, notice how, "The falling stars their orbits leave", is changed so that "falling" becomes a direct object: "When the stars begin to fall".

Chorus:
My Lord, what a morning
  (repeat three times)
  When the stars begin to fall.

You'll hear a sinner mourn,
  To make the nations underground,
Look in my God's right hand,
  When the stars begin to fall.

You'll hear a gambler groan.

You'll hear a sinner pray.

You'll hear a Christian shout.

You'll hear a Christian sing.

On that great morning of Judgement, the sinners will mourn and the believers will shout with joy and will be in God's right hand, i. e., in his favor. The point of the hymn is stripped of its descriptiveness and its central theme brought out - an opposition between sinners and believers on Judgement Day. This again is repeated over and over, a technique typical of the song type. Repetition tends to emphasize what is of most interest to the culture and instead of dwelling on wordy stanzas the spirituals get right to the point. There are other examples of hymn

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right to the point. There are other examples of hymn re-arrangements. Southern has discussed the adaptation of Roll, Jordan, Roll from Watts' There Is a Land of Pure Delight.[53]

The scriptures were an important source for material in the spirituals. The bibical heroes and their exploits were re-told in spectacular fashion and essentially replaced African Gods. The books of Isaiah and Revelations were among the most popular but certain parts were not used at all. The slaves were unfamiliar with them because the planters did not allow these sections of the bible to be read. Below is a short list of comparisons between bibical passages and spiritual texts.[54]

Bibical Passage	Spiritual Text
Psalms 19: 1 - The heaven declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.	He made the sun an' moon an' stahrs, To rule both day an' night; He placed them in the firmament, An' told them to give light. (My God Is a Man of War)
Isaiah 9: 2 - The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.	We shall walk through the valley, And the shadow of death. (We Shall Walk Through the Valley)
Isaish 9: 1 - Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.	O 'rise! shine! for thy light is a-comin' My Lord says he's comin' bye n' bye. (Rise, Shine, for Thy Light Is A-Comin')

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Revelations 22: 14 - Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life.	The tallest tree in paradise, The Christian calls it the tree of life. (Sweet Heaven)
Revelations 6: 12-13 - And the sun became black as sack cloth of hair and the moon became as blood and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth.	And de moon will turn to blood, And you'll see de stars a falling, And de world will be on fire. (Day of Judgement)
Matthew 24: 42, 44 - Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come..., Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.	Watch ye therefore ye know not the day, When the Lord shall call your soul away. (I Shall Wear a Golden Crown)

The language of the spiritual is not of a sophisticated literary nature. The poet did not labor over the proper meter, rhyme, word, alliteration or what is regarded as appropriate poetic architecture. He was more aware of meaning and what concerned him in his life than belles lettres. The songs, instead, display an unpretentious down-to-earth, realistic quality which come to the point in a hurry. Repetition emphasizes the main idea and tends to build momentum in the songs, and the congregation. In turn, it does not allow for lengthy and verbose statements. What has to be said must be commented upon in direct and personal terms. Upon reading the texts of several spirituals, it becomes apparent, I believe, that

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the songs work their magic by drawing in the reader, involving him in the action or placing him directly in the context. Everything that happens is also happening to him. This is what is meant by a direct and personal attack. The hymns suggest, rather, what will happen from a distance, no matter how figurative the language. A great part of this approach, in the spirituals, is due to the use of personal pronouns, "you" and "I", which although tending to include everyone, speak directly to the reader.

The major theme in the songs is deliverance. For the slave, it meant from bondage; for present-day blacks it was re-interpreted to mean their troubles and dispair. There is a great amount of optimism present despite the sobriety of dispair, trials and tribulations in everyday life. Such an existence was certain to produce a rich and vivid flavor of bitter personal taste. Yet it abounded with assurance and courage. Lovell discusses the mixture of mask and symbol in the songs.[55] Our interest here is their poetic imagery.

One may point to the vigorous presence of simple yet subtlety intense words, terse and trenchant statement, and overall effectiveness, but the outstanding feature is the figurative language. The similes, metaphors and personification stand out in a piquant color.[56] Satan and death are presented in crystalline portraits of concern. "O

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Satan comes like a busy old man" for "Oh Satan he's a snake in the grass". Or, "Ole Satan like dat hunting dog, He hunt dem Christians home to God". One must always be weary of Satan, the backbiter and philanderer, for, "Old Satan wears de hypocrite's shoe, And if you don't mind he'll slip it on you". Two of the best personifications of death bring a realistic and remarkably visual idea to what death can do. The singer cries, "Death gonna lay his cold, icy hand on me" and,

> Death ain't nothin' but a robber don't you see,
> Death came to my house, he didn't stay long,
> I looked in the bed an' my mother was gone.

Other poetic representations concern the world, trouble and dispair. Previously, it was observed that many of the hymns symbolized real life experiences of trials and tribulations for black Americans. Similarly, the spirituals echo the same feeling:

> Hell is deep and dark dispair.
>
> Trouble will bury me down.
>
> O Sometimes I feel like a motherless child.
>
> This world's a howling wilderness.
>
> Heaven's so high, I am so low.
>
> This world's a wilderness of woe.

But the opposite is also true; where optimism and courage in God sustains the individual. Dorothy Love said, "if it wasn't grace that brought us safe this far, show me what did it."[57] And the old slave who thundered that he had put doubt in God behind him long ago, affirmed Radin's view that,

> There was no other safety for people faced on all sides by doubt and the threat of personal disintegration, by the thwarting of instincts and the annihilation of values.[58]

Doubt was expelled.

When Jesus comes, He'll outshine thuh sun.

O the religion that my Lord gave me,
Shines like a mornin' star.

Religion is a blooming rose.

O my little soul's goin' to shine.

My soul's been anchored in Jesus,
And the devil can't do me no more.

Heaven bells ringin' in my soul.

The Lord is on the giving hand.

I'll be sleepin' in Jesus..

Other stanzas demonstrate a lucid picture of Christ on the cross who, "never said a mumblin' word, not a word, not a word, not a word, not a word." The crucifixtion is at times seen as the termination of a way of life and that God would look at earth in a different way. The stanzas are from, The Angels Done Bowed Down.

While Jesus was a-hanging upon the cross,
The angels kept quiet till God went off,
And the angels hung their harps on the willow trees,
To give satisfaction till God was pleased.

His soul went up on the pillar of cloud,
  O God he moved and the heaven did bow,
Jehovah's sword was at his side,
  On the empty air He began to ride.

Go down angels to the flood,
  Blowout the sun, turn the moon into blood!
Come back angels bolt the door,
  The time that's been will be no more!

The last stanza is one of the most beautiful among spirituals. Note, in the first, that the final two lines actually represent an allusion to the mourning angels. The "willow tree" is, of course, the weeping willow. The act of ridding oneself of sins and keeping a moral life is described with the use of a broom.

Massa Jesus gib me a little broom,
  For to sweep my heart clean,
Sweep 'em clean by de grace of God,
  An' glory in my soul.

Noah's ark is given a sense of continual action with the repetition of "a-movering" which seems to be a verbal noun. The ark is a mover and also moves to carry the singer home.

O, the old ark's a-movering, a-movering,
      a-movering,
  The old ark's a-movering, and I'm going
      home.

THE JUBILEE SONG

Previously, we have brought out the various interpretations of the word "jubilee". Here, we will be concerned with the songs as a reflection of joy and happiness, both within the text and tempo of the music (see pages 237 to 239). In the texts offered below, the notion of deliverance (or, seeking the Jubilee) and freedom from tribulations is present, just as in the spiritual. Despite this similarity, as well as within the overall language, there is a difference. The distinction lies in the prospect of attaining deliverance for the individual which is expressed in terms of exultation and joy. The singer becomes enthusiastic over the fact that he can be in that number, "When the saints go marching in". Or, that he is, "Goin' to shout all over God's Heav'n", when he puts on his white robe. The music associated with these songs are rather syncopated and rapid in tempo.

The most famous jubilee song is, When the Saints Go Marching In, in which the potential of seeking Jesus Christ meets the individual's search for eternal bliss.

chorus:
When the Saints go marching in,
  When the Saints go marching in,
I want to be in that number,
  When the Saints go marching in.

In Jesus Christ, I want to find,
  Pray tell me where he is;
In him my Lord can ease my mind,
  And give my conscious (relief).

If you go down, beyond the fold,
  And search among the (fields);
You'll find him there, I am told,
  With (joy he loves to sing).

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What (sign will) tell, I'll tell him by,
  From any other man;
He wears salvation on his brow,
  And in his arms a lamb.

I thank you friend, for your advice,
  I'll find him if I can;
And if I do, I will rejoice,
  For Christ's a friend to man.[59]

Another is, Good News, de Chariot's Comin', with its realization of status symbols in the new life.

chorus:
Good news de chariots's comin'
  (repeat three times)
I don't want her leave me behind.

Gwine to get up in de chariot, carry me home.
  (repeat three times)
An' I don' want her leave a me behind.

Dar's a long white robe in de hebben I know.

Dar's a golden crown in de hebben, I know.

Dar's a golden harp in de hebben, I know.

Dar's silver slippers in de hebben, I know.[60]

Other examples are: Going to Shout All Over God's Heaven. A Great Camp Meeting in De Promised Land, Hail! Hail! Hail!

THE GOSPEL SONG

The black gospel song had its rough beginnings during the early part of the twentieth century. There are many similarities between it and the white variety that bloomed during the Moody-Sankey revivals of the nineteenth century, many of which became part of the repertoire of black congregations. They were called by blacks, "book hymns" or simply "hymns", to distinguish them from their own songs.

Generally speaking, black (and white) gospel, like the spirituals, tend to have a verse alternating with a chorus and may have an added refrain attached to the verse. The songs are basically in iambic or iambic mixed with anapestic meter. The length of the line can vary considerably from dimeter (Precious Lord Take My Hand) to pentameter (Stand By Me). There is a greater tendency toward rhyme in all types of gospel song. In black gospel, some compositions have what they call a "special chorus" and in some cases an "optional one", in addition to the regular choral stanza. No, I Won't Feel Satisfied (by Lucille Watkins and Wilbur Bell, 1946) and No Coward Soldier (by James Herndon, 1963) are two examples. There are also black songs which instead of having a one-verse chorus, may have three or some combination thereof, such as, I Waited for the Lord to Save My Soul (by Charles E. Campbell, 1955). Although the spiritual may have some such variation, it is not as marked. The gospel song, generally, is less repetitious than the spiritual - there are numerous exceptions. In a manner of speaking, they were a reversion to the approach of the old English hymns which used wordy language.

As an introduction to the phraseology of the black gospel song, it is worth-while to take note of Yoder's excellent comparison between them and the spiritual. Although his description emphasizes white gospel, as typified by the Moody-Sankey tunes, there are many black gospel songs which fit the pattern.

> The gospel song is similar to the spiritual in that its ideas are drawn from the imagery and vocabulary of the bible, or from the vocabulary of the conversion experience, but its ornamentation is Victorian. It is ornate and sentimental, where the spiritual, born on the frontier, is direct, elemental, folk-level song. Like the spiritual, the gospel song sports a chorus, but in singing the gospel song one begins normally with the verse. Furthermore the gospel song chorus is an integral part of the whole, wheras the chorus in the spiritual tradition can "wander" from hymn-text to hymn-text, with typical camp-meeting freedom. The spiritual choruses were circulating choruses, not bound to any one hymn. The gospel songs were also more "literary" than the spirituals. In fact they were "popular" songs rather than folksongs. They were, according to the most important American hymnologist, "music-hall songs" applied to religious work.[61]

It is my opinion that, overall, spirituals contain a more imaginative use of figurative speech than gospel songs. The use of metaphor seems to lack power and force in the latter. What stands out, rather, is the inherent meaning and the ability to invest a personal situation, such as dispair, with import and purpose. We will come to this in a moment. To be sure, there is some interesting phrasing.

Since I married Jesus,
  We never been a minute apart,
I've a telephone in my bosom,
  I can ring him in my heart.

(Well, Well, Well, Don't Worry 'Bout Me,
by the Famous Five Soul Stirrers)

When God dips His pen of love - in my heart,
And writes my soul a message.
(When God Dips His Love in My Heart by
Cleavant Derricks, 1949)

The reason I know He saved my soul,
I dug down deep and found pure gold.
(Jesus Is All by W. Herbert Brewster, 1949)

Numerous gospel songs maintain a particular flavor of the older spiritual. Certain phrases are almost exact replicas.

gospel - The devil is a liar and a cheater too.
(Wrapped Up, Tied Up, Tangled Up by C. Robinson, 1971)
spiritual - The devil is a liar and a conjurer, too.
(Hard to Rise Again)

But more often, the reader catches a glimpse of an older style of imagery, rural in background and spiritual in language. An excellent example is Move On Up A Little Higher by Rev. Brewster.

Soon as these feet strike Zion,
I'm gonna lay down my heavy burden
Gonna put on my robe in glory,
Gonna shout and tell my story.
I've been coming over hills and mountains
Gonna drink from the crystal fountain.
All God's sons and daughters,
Will be drinking that old healing water.
We're going to live on the river,
We're going to live on forever,
We're going to live on up in glory afterawhile.
I'm going out sight-seeing in Beulah,
Gonna march around God's altar.
Gonna walk and never get tired,
Gonna fly and never falter.
Gonna move on up a little higher, gonna meet
old man Daniel.

........., gonna meet the Hebrew children.
........., gonna meet Paul and Silas.
........., gonna meet my friends and kindred.
........., gonna meet my mother.
Move on up a little higher, gonna meet the lily
  of the valley.
Feast with the rose of Sharon,
It will be always howdy howdy, etc.

There are numerous others. I'm On My Way by John Richardi Rose (1943) is repleate with heavy repetition and a "family" series of verses reminiscent of the old spirituals. "Family" refers to the consecutive introduction of the singer's mother, father, brother, etc., or simply the change of a single word in the verse from stanza to stanza.

chorus:
I'm on my way, I'm on my way
  to those mansions fair to mansions fair
I'm on my way I'm on my way
  to those mansions fair those mansions fair
I'm on my way I'm on my way
  to those mansions fair to mansions fair
I'm on my way Thank God I'm on my way my way.

My mother's gone my mother's gone
  to those mansions fair to mansions fair
    (repeat three times)
My mother's gone Thank God I'm on my way my way.

My father's gone, etc.

My sister's gone, etc.

Not only were songs written in a pristine imagery but certain ones were re-adaptations of spirituals. The subject of Noah and the flood sweeping the land has been a favorite in black culture for well over 130 years. The texts of gospel versions are actually re-writtings of the

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spiritual. The original text of Didn't It Rain was,

Jes' wait a little while, I'm gwine tell you
'bout de ole ark,
De Lord told Noah for to build him an ole ark,
Den Noah and his sons went to work upon dry
lan',
Dey built dat ark jes' accordin' to comman',
Noah an' his sons went to work upon de timber,
De proud begin to laugh the silly to point de
finger,
When de ark was finished jes' accordin' to
plan,
Massa Noah took his family both animal an' man,
When de rain begin to fall and de ark begin
to rise,
De wicked hung round wid der froans and der
cries,
Fohty days and fohty nights de rain it kep'
a fallin',
De wicked clumb de trees an' for help dey
kep' callin',
Dat awful rain she stopped at las', de waters
dey subsided,
An' dat ole ark wid all aboard on Ararat
rided.[62]

A later version, collected by Odum in the early part of this century, is greatly water-downed.[63] In 1939, Roberta Martin wrote her version which had the same title and was even referred to as a spiritual.

chorus:
Didn't it rain children
Rain Oh, my Lord
Didn't it, Didn't it, Didn't it, Oh,
My Lord didn't it rain.

It rained forty days and it rained for forty
nights, etc.

In 1965, Lucy Matthew published a song with the same title and essentially the same words as Martin's. Jessy Dixon, in 1966, composed It's Going to Rain, based on the above series.

It's goin' to rain,
It's goin' to sen the water from heaven
He's goin' to push the heavens up higher,
It's goin' to rain.

It's goin' to Rain - children
God's goin' to send the waters of Zion,
He's goin' to push the heavens higher
It's goin' to rain, It's goin' to rain.

Noah preached so long about the coming destruction
But no one would believe him not even one,
But God promised, to send the waters down
and that's when it rained forty days forty nights there was no land in sight;

It's goin' to rain again no one knows how or when,
But we know it's goin' to rain, It's goin' to rain, It's goin' to rain, etc.

Spirituals and gospel songs were similarly adapted from the bible and old hymns. Many of the modern-day black gospel tunes indicate which scriptural passage was used. Ollie Lafayette's I've Got to Keep Running (1961) is an adaptation of, 2 Peter 3: 8-14, where a warning is given to be ready for judgement day. The chorus is omitted.

God's getting tir'd of your wicked ways,
  You'd better make haste while it's day.
You've got no time to waste away.
  You'd better get ready for judgement day.

You can't run if your heart's not right.
  You've got to serve God day and night.
There'll be no time for another chance
  He's already told us in advance.

He's Alpha and Omega to Me (by Charles H. Pace) was based

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on Revelation 22: 12-20 which says, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." "Alpha and Omega" was also used by composers of the spiritual. Rev. William Herbert Brewster is well-known for his adaptations from the Bible and his use of an older poetic style, as suggested earlier in, Move On Up A Little Higher. Some song titles suggest their source: Treading the Wine Press Alone and As An Eagle Stirreth Her Nest.

Adaptations were also made of old hymns. An example is, All the Way from Heaven by James Cleveland (1964), which simply adds a chorus to the first and third lines of Amazing Grace. Charles H. Pace's Something That's New uses segments of Amazing Grace with added verses and a chorus.

> Amazing grace, how sweet the sound,
> that gave me something that's new,
> I once was lost but now I'm found
> And my soul's got something that's new.
>
> Through many dangerous toils and snares,
> with friends that proved untrue,
> Tis grace that brought me safe this far
> And gave me something that's new.

Rev. Brewster also re-worked hymns. His, Just Over the Hill (1949) was taken from Watts' There Is a Land of Pure Delight. A chorus was also added.

Many black gospel songs were similar to the Moody-Sankey type with regard to pretentiousness, wordiness and sentimetality. C. A. Tindley, the first acknowledged

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writer of black gospel, appears to have composed in this style. However, his compositions often display greater substance relative to the theme of dispair so prominent in black gospel. By and By, When the Morning Comes is similar to Sankey's When the Mists Have Rolled Away (1883) but the description of toil and trouble is much more vivid and to the point. A comparison of the two may be fruitful. Sankey's is given first.

When the mists have rolled in splendor
From the beauty of the hills,
And the sunlight fall in gladness
On the river and the hills,
We recall our Father's promise
In the rainbow of the spray:
We shall know each other better
When the mists have rolled away.

chorus:
We shall know as we are known,
Nevermore to walk alone,
In the dawning of the mourning
Of that bright and happyday.

Oft we tread the path before us
With a weary burden'd heart;
Oft we toil amist the shadows,
And our fields are far apart:
But the Saviour's "Come, ye blessed"
All our labor will repay,
When we gather in the morning
When the mists have rolled away.

We shall come with joy and gladness,
We shall gather round the throne;
Face to face with those that love us,
We shall know as we are known:
And the song of our redemption,
Shall resound tho' endless day,
When the shadows have departed,
And the mists have rolled away.[64]

Tindley's follows.

We're tossed and driven
  On this restless sea of time,
Somber skies and howling tempests
  Often hide the bright sunshine,
But there is a land of fadeless day
  And when the mists have rolled away
We'll understand it better by and by.

chorus:
By and by when the morning comes
  When all the Saints of God are gathered home.
We'll tell the story how we've overcome,
  We'll understand it better by and by.

We are often destituted
  Of the things that life demands;
Want of shelter and of food
  Thirsty hills and barren land,
But we're trusting in the Lord,
  And according to his word
We will understand it better by and by.

Temptations, hidden snares
  Often take us unawares,
And our hearts are made to bleed
  For each thoughtless word or deed,
And we wonder why the test,
  When we try to do our best,
But will understand it better by and by.[65]

Perhaps Thomas A. Dorsey epitomized the writing of sentimental verse more than anyone. Look On the Brighter Side (1941) appears below.

If things go wrong and you stand all alone,
  Just look on the brighter side,
Life may be drear and the dark clouds appear
  Just look on the brighter side.

chorus:
There you'll find Jesus in Whom You can confide
  You can keep on smiling no matter what betide
You'll find Joy and Comfort and in His love
  abide
If you look on the brighter side.

Its hard to smile when your heart calls for
tears,
And be out what you're not inside,
Days seem like weeks and the months seem like
years
Just look on the brighter side.

I know your troubles and I know your heart
calls for tears,
And be out what you're not inside,
Days seem weeks and the months seem like years
Just look on the brighter side.

Other songs spoke of resting oneself in heaven which was equated with a vacation (I'll Take My Vacation in Heaven by Elee Clowers, 1934),

I'm glad it will all soon be over
For I'm wounded and weary and sore.
My friends some time they deceive me,
But I'll rest over on that golden shore
And when I come down to the Jordan
My sword and shield I'll lay down.
And the joy of a heavenly vacation,
I'll receive a bright starry crown.

Another assures us that God, "has never left us alone - always answers His telephone" (Look Where the Lord Has Brought Us by Virgie C. DeWitty, 1969).

Many of these sentimental tunes revolved around the theme of assurance and faith in God. Although melodramatic, they supply what Dorsey calls, a message, to black people. He, in fact, characterizes all of his compositions as, "songs that carry a message". The intention of gospel music, according to Dorsey, is,

> ...to strike a happy medium for the downtrodden. This music lifted people out of the muck and mire of poverty and loneliness, of being broke and gave them some kind of hope anyway.[66]

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The trouble and dispair inherent in these songs, as we shall soon discuss, is intimately tied to the environment of the urban ghetto with its crime, disease, congested living, drugs, gangs and the like. Although it is certain that other communities have these problems, for blacks, the situation is complicated due to a higher concentration of these factors in so small a geographical area. There are many hardships involving health and security. This is why old hymns such as *Amazing Grace*, *The Day Is Past and Gone* and *Father I Stretch My Hands to Thee* have meaning: because of their concern for dangers and troubles. The same theme is echoed in the gospel songs. The spirituals knew of dispair but their main concern was one of deliverance from bondage. Subsequent to emancipation, blacks attempted to move into the mainstream of American life with plodding success. Jesus now became a means to lift one from the burdens and pressures of life; of being black in a white society. He was symbolized as a means of making it through life. A reading of Heilbut's *The Gospel Sound* helps to explain this point for the gospel singer. Dorothy Love observed,

> Look, we didn't have any money, and how much luck is the white man gonna let you have? The government just started wking up to the fact we're here, and nobody's fooled they care. So now tell me, if it wasn't *grace* that brought us safe thus far, show me what did it.[67]

And her sentiments are recast in the gospel song. Virgie

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C. DeWitty's Look Where the Lord Has Brought Us (1969) speaks of this.

> Think of the rough road we've traveled
> With many awinding pathway
> Many fears and conflicts many troubles too
> Only a God of love and mercy
> Could have brought us safely through
> And kept us with hope and faith anew.

Although the songs speak of toils, loneliness and bad times, the outcome is always positive, offering assurance and faith to the troubled. Jesus is pictured as a healer of affliction, a good companion, friend, comforter and one who will guide you through life and show you the right way. The songs suggest to, tell Jesus all,

> Just tell Jesus, Tell him all.
> Trials great and trials small
> He will share them freely, Bear them,
> just tell Jesus, Tell Him all.
> (Tell Jesus All by Rowe and Henson)

When you're depressed, call on Jesus.

> When you are discouraged
> And you don't know what to do
> Just call on Jesus
> And He'll carry you through
> (There Is Nothing Too Hard for Thee by
> Emma L. Jackson, 1937)

C. A. Tindley's Stand By Me is perhaps one of the most famous of this type and the imagery places places him at the forefront of black gospel writers.

> When the storms of life are raging stand by me
> When the storms of life are raging stand by me
> When the world is tossing me like a ship upon the
> sea,
> Thou who rulest wind and water stand by me.

In the midst of tribulations stand by me
In the midst of tribulations stand by me
When the hosts of hell assail And my strength
begins to fail,
Thou who never lost a battle stand by me.

In the midst of faults and failures stand by me
In the midst of faults and failures stand by me
When I do the best I can And my friends misunderstand,
Thou who knowest all about me stand by me.[68]

Jesus is pictured as a source of courage for everyday living.

In this world I can always meet a frown.
For the world is just supposed to love its own
But when Jesus smiles on me.
I'm as happy as can be.
It gives me courage.
For the Lord to smile on me.
(I Want the Lord to Smile on Me by Rev.
William Herbert Brewster, 1949)

At times, a song will express the personal experiences of a singer in an attempt to set an example or prove Jesus true.

A long long, time ago,
My heart was troubled with sin
My head bow'd down in sorrow
When I started out to seek salvation,
I had a hard time resisting temptation
But I kept on searching
'Til I found the King of kings.
(Searching by Dorothy Norwood, 1965)

The story continues relating what God did for the singer. With many songs, it seems very apropos to indicate that they reflect real experiences for the composer, singer, and audience. Just as the blues speak to a group having a common set of identifying values, gospel music does the

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same. It is not enough to say that black gospel unifies the group through its reference to religion and to Jesus. It is crucial to also emphasize that the songs express an identity through a common experience in living patterns and behavior. The music, then, becomes totally an expression of the culture.

The songs which reflect disconsolation and dispair are strongly reminiscent of a blues construct. They speak to a down and out condition. Some of Dorsey's songs suggest a more, intense blues imagery such as in, The Lord Will Make a Way Somehow.

> Often there's misunderstanding out of all the
> the good I do.
> I go to friends for consolation and I find
> them complaining too.
> So many nights I keep tossing in pain,
> Wondering what the day's gonna bring,
> Then I say to my soul take courage,
> The Lord will make a way somehow.

The themes of "consolation" and "tossing in pain" remind one of the same theme in the blues.

> I dreamed last night that the whole round
> world was mine,
> I woke up this mornin', didn't have one lousy
> dime.
>
> Did you ever wake up with the blues and didn't
> have no place to go,
> An' you couldn't do nothin' but just walk
> from door to door?[69]

But the outcome in gospel is always optimistic and bright whereas blues tend to leave many unanswered questions. In gospel, Jesus is the answer.

THE RELIGIOUS BALLAD

The study of religious ballads is actually an investigation into ballad scholarship as a whole for which they offer an excellent model system. Secular ballads have been divided into the traditional child-, broadside-, American-, and Afro-American ballads, each of which is differentiated from the other by its emphasis on setting, characters, action, and motivation or purpose.[70] Essentially, a story is told in varying degrees of dramatic action, with or without a moral, and proceeding in a chronological order of events. The ballad may be told in third or first person terms. The black ballad varies sharply from white forms as we shall see. Variations in these factors were not emphasized by George Pullen Jackson when he reprinted fifty-one white ballads.[71] He did recognize various types but grouped everything under one large heading. In reality, however, the sorting of differences within a corpus of these songs is a problem which rests with ballad scholarship as a whole. For this reason, we will not deal with mean particulars. Perhaps Jackson thought the same. We will touch on two examples of white ballads from Jackson's collection to demonstrate differences in type.

Moses is most reminiscent of the traditional secular ballad with its few scenes, high degree of dramatic action and minimal amount of dialogue.

> The ladies were wending their way
> As Pharo's daughter stepped down to the water
> To bathe in the cool of the day.
> Before it was dark she opened the ark
> And found the sweet infant was there.
>
> She took him in pity and thought him so pretty;
> That made little Moses so glad.
> She called him her own, her beautiful son,
> And sent for a nurse that was near.
>
> By the side of the river so clear
> They carried that beautiful child
> To his own tender mother, his sister and brother;
> Little Moses looked happy and smiled.
>
> His mother so good done all that she could
> To hear(rear?) him and teach him with care.
> Then away by the sea that was red
> Stood Moses the servant of God.
>
> While in him confided the deed (sea?) was divided
> While upward he lifted his rod.
> The Jews safely crossed while Pharo's host
> Was drounded in the water and lost.
>
> Then away by the mountain so high
> Stood Moses with trembling an' awe;
> With lightning and thunder, great signs and wonders,
> While God was giving the law.
> He wrote it down on two tables of stone
> Before he returned to the sky.
>
> Then away on the mountain so high
> Stood the last one he ever might see.
> While Isreal victorious, his hope was most gloriest,
> Would soon over Jordan be free.
> His neighbors did cease, he departed in peace,
> And rest-es in heaven above.

It is told impersonally in third-person terms. If one did not know who Moses was or where the events actually took place, little would be known of the setting or characters. Those religious ballads adapted from the Bible, by virtue of their source, offer more information and background to the listener than a traditional secular ballad.

In other ballads, reprinted in Jackson's book, we notice a tendency toward lyricism where an excessive amount of dialogue, emotive lyrics, the intrusive use of the first person, and overtly sentimental and melodramatic action, is presented. The Dying Californian best represents the effect of dialogue.

I am dying, brother, dying;
Soon you'll miss me in your berth,
For my form will soon be lying
'Neath the ocean's briney deep.

I am going, surely going,
But my hope in God is strong;
I am willing, brother, knowing
That he doth nothing wrong.

Tell my father, when you greet him,
That in death I prayed for him,
Prayed that I might only meet him
In a world that's free from sin.

Tell my mother, - God assist her,
Now that she is growing old, -
That her child would glad have kissed her
When his lips grew pale and cold.

Listen, brother, catch each whisper,
'Tis my wife I'll speak of now;
Tell, O tell her how I missed her,
When the fever burned my brow.

Tell her she must kiss my children,
Like the kiss I last impressed;
Hold them as when last I held them,
Folded closely to my breast.

Listen, brother, closely listen,
Don't forget a single word,
That in death my eyes will glisten
With the tears her memory stored.

Tell them I never reached the haven,
Where I sought the precious dust,
But I've gained a port called heaven
Where the gold will never rust.

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Urge them to secure an entrance,
For they'll find a brother there.
Faith in Jesus and repentance
Will secure for them a share.

Hark! I hear my Savior speaking;
'Tis - I know his voice so well,
When I'm gone, O don't be weeping,
Brother, hear my last farewell.

Here the dying man talks with his brother telling him his last wishes within a single melodramatic scene - his death bed. There is essentially little action. Because dialogue acts in this way, the song's narrative structure diminishes and the lyrical is emphasized. The reader is referred to the literature for further examples and information.[74]

Black religious ballads are of two types, not unlike white material. They may draw their imagery directly from the Bible or apply a tragic or other secular event to a moral or religious lesson. In the latter case, the similarity to many so-called secular American ballads which preach a moral, is very apparant. In both black religious and secular ballads, there is a tendency toward emotive

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action rather than the telling of a story in a logical sequential order. Wilgus characterized the black ballad form as,

> The loose, emotional narrative style, emphasizing situation and delineating character sharply, economically, often obliquely, is characteristic of American Negro balladry....75

Both secular and sacred types fit into this definition. Just as a badman may have hero qualities which are admired in Afro-American culture, the same may be said of such bibical heroes as Noah and Sampson. Their strength and power is more important than the actual telling of a story as is the case in white material. In antebellum times, these heroes would help free the slaves. After emancipation, they represented symbols of faith in God. Those ballads which tell of a tragedy were common at the turn of the century and the years following. Here the hero is not those affected by the tragedy but is God himself who has the power to smite all who disbelieve. The tragedy becomes a warner to sinners or wayfarers. We will now look at a few examples.

Norah, Hist the Windah, an old spiritual, is characteristic of the Bibical adaptations. In a loose narrative style, it tells how sinners or doubters will be lost. Compare this version with the one on page 320 of this study.

chorus:
Norah, hist the windah
(repeat three times)
Hist the windah let the dove come in.

Oh God comman' Brother Norah one day
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
An' told Brother Norah to build an ark
Hist the windah let the dove come in.

Well Norah commence to vuil' his ark
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
An' he buil' his ark on the ha'd dry lan'
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in.

An' the foolish man come a ridin' by
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
Well he point his han' an' he scorn at Norah
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
An' he call ole Norah the foolish man
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
You buildin' yo' ark on the ha'd dry lan'
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in.

Well, the little turtle dove droop his wing
Oh hist the windah let the dove come in
An' he gone on Zion's Hill to sing
Hist the windah let the dove come in.[76]

One point is made in the text and this is its purpose. There are certain texts which do give much more detail (Did Not Old Pharoah Get Lost?) but these are rare. Other examples of this type are: The Prodigal Son, De Ole Ark's a-moverin Along, My Lord Delivered Daniel, If I Had My Way, I'd Tear This Building Down, That's Another Witness for My Lord, I Mean to Lift Up a Standard for My King, I Believe I'll Go Back Home, John Done Saw Dat Numbuh, Go Down Moses, etc. Some modern-day religious ballads of this type have been written. Elijah, by Dorothy Love (1958), tells how he was a great man of strength who, with God on his side, defeated Pharoah in a contest for bringing fir. She also wrote, Jericho Walls, telling of Joshua's exploits.

Those ballads which speak of a secular event include such situations as the sinking of the Titanic as well as many overtly sentimental songs which harp on a dying person's final realization of sin. The 1927 Flood, recorded the following year, tells us that "God's judgement must go through".

> It was in 1927, it was an awful time to know,
> Through many down in Sun__, for let the water flow,
> The people watch and say, that God was just afraid,
> When he poured out his burden on the land.
>
> There was flood through the land, and it killed both people and man,
> All the people not so wicked, they didn't hear God's command
> They pray hard to Jesus, for God they had to kneel,
> When he poured out his burden on the land.[77]

The Titanic, also titled Didn't That Ship Go Down and God Moves on the Water, was quite a popular topic.

> chorus:
> God moves on the water,
> April the 14th day,
> God Moves on the water,
> Everybody had to run and pray.
>
> Titanic left Southampton
> With all their sport and game,
> But when they struck that iceberg,
> I know their mind was changed.

Their mothers told their daughters,
On a pleasure trip they may go,
But when they struck that iceberg,
They haven't been seen anymore.

One man, John Jacob Astor,
A Man with pluck and brains,
While this great ship was sinkin',
All the woman he tried to save.

He was warended by a freight boat,
Captain Smith would not take heed,
But instead of givin' a warnin'
He ran with a greater speed.

He kissed his wife a last time
When the boiler did explode,
He helped her in the lifeboat
Sayin', "I won't see you anymo'!"

The story of the shipwreck
Is almost too sad to tell,
One thousand and six hundred
Went down forever to dwell.

Well, the 14th day of April,
It was in 19 hundred and 12,
The ship had a wreck by the iceberg,
It went down forever to dwell.[78]

Note that the stanzas have no particular order. The only religious reference is "God moves on water" and implies a moral that God took wrath on the boat because it was too powerful, a symbol of wealth and worldliness.

Other examples in this category are Memphis Flu and Jesus Is Coming Soon which considers the First World War.[79] An interesting untitled song appeared in a 1929 issue of the Literary Digest. It was supposedly overheard by Red Cross officials as they attempted to rescue a group of blacks floating about on rafts caused by the havoc of a typhoon.[80]

Mother's Last Word to Her Son, recorded by Washington Phillips, is an excellent example of a sentimental call to remember Jesus.

> I never can for-, get the day,
> When my dear mother, did sweetly say;
> You are leaving, my darling boy,
> You always have been your mother's joy.
>
> Now as you leave, (this world around),
> You may not ____, to get back home;
> But remember Jesus, who lived on high,
> He's a-watching over you, with a mighty eye.
>
> The world is so far, all sin and woe,
> And many sorrows, everywhere you go;
> But remember Jesus, who's everywhere,
> If you get in trouble now, he'll meet you there.
>
> If you bow down, before his face,
> And trust in him for, his saving grace;
> And you have a burden, he'll make them light,
> And he sure will guide you, all in the right.
>
> Now when I think of, my mother dear,
> How often she did, shed a tear;
> My wandering mind, has gone astray,
> But things come, and slip away.[81]

Note the lack of definite action due to a high incidence of dialogue. The relationship to the maudlin gospel song should be apparant. Downward Road Is Crowded is of the same kind which describes a dying sinnder who failed to repent.[82] The only connection between this version and the spiritual by the same name is in the chorus.

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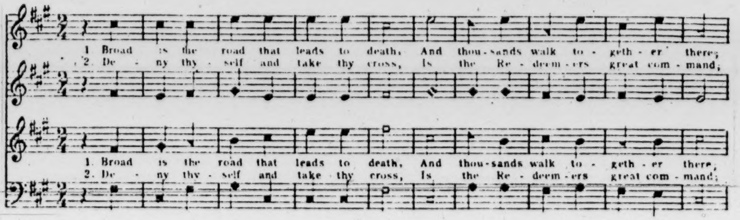
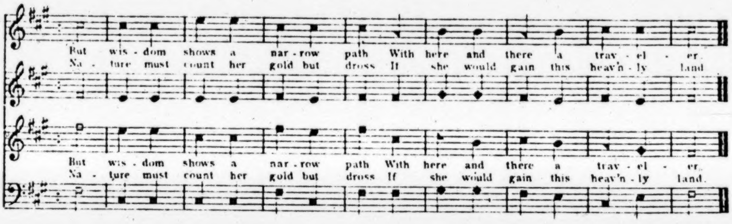
THE SACRED HARP

In 1931, Judge Jackson published a collection of songs to be used by the black sacred harp singing schools.[83] It consisted of many old hymns, gospel songs, spirituals and a ballad. The latter was an original composition, Florida Storm, written by the author in 1928. Essentially, sacred harp singing is a style of performance and therefore a song from any source may be adapted to the method. Some of the hymns used were: Am I A Soldier of the Cross (Watts); When I Can Read My Title Clear (Watts) which was titled Mansion in the Sky; a patching of How Lost Was My Condition to a chorus of "The Storm Is Passing O'er" and titled Doris.

Most appeared to have been written by members of the singing school and in the gospel style of the day. Broad Road and Narrow Path is such an example and demonstrates how the songs were adapted for part-singing.

EX. NO. 1: BROAD ROAD AND NARROW PATH (TRADITIONAL)
from, J. Jackson, The Colored Sacred Harp


1 Broad is the road that leads to death, And thou-sands walk to - geth - er there;
2. De - ny thy - self and take thy cross, Is the Re - deem - ers great com - mand;
1. Broad is the road that leads to death, And thou-sands walk to - geth - er there;
2. De - ny thy - self and take thy cross, Is the Re - deem - ers great com - mand;


But wis - dom shows a nar - row path With here and there a trav - el - er.
Na - ture must count her gold but dross If she would gain this heav'n - ly land.
But wis - dom shows a nar - row path With here and there a trav - el - er.
Na - ture must count her gold but dross If she would gain this heav'n - ly land.

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NOTES

[1] Long, Common and Short measure are dependent on the number of feet in the line (C. S. Phillips, *Hymnody Past and Present* [London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937], pp. 279-280). A song is composed of stanzas which contain four lines. Each line is composed of stressed and unstressed syllables. A single set of a stressed and unstressed syllable is called a "foot". There may be two, three, four or as many as seven feet per line. If there is four (tetrameter), this signifies a total of eight syllables, four of which are stressed and four of which are unaccented. If there are three (trimeter), there is a total of six syllables, three of which are stressed and three of which are not, etc. "Long Measure" consists of four lines of eight syllables each and is denoted as: 8.8.8.8. "Common Measure" - which is similar in structure to what is called "ballad meter" - consists of two lines, the first and third, having eight syllables, and two lines, the second and fourth, having six syllables. This is denoted as: 8.6.8.6. "Short Measure" comprises four lines, three of which, the first, second and fourth, have six syllables and the third, having eight. The designation is: 6.6.8.6. In those cases with six syllables, the other two are implied in the song.

In Watts' version of the 23rd. Psalm, the accents for Short Measure is as follows, where, "x" = unaccented syllable and "/" = accented syllable.

x / x / x /
The Lord my Shep-herd is,
x / x / x /
I Shall be well su-pply'd.
x / x / x / x /
Since he is mine, and I am his,
x / x / x /
What can I want be-side?

The pattern of stressed and unaccented syllables, i.e., feet, are given different designations depending on the particular arrangement of stresses. In the above example, where a stressed syllable follows an unstressed one, the foot is called an "iambus". The meter of the song is, therefore, "Iambic". If a line has three stressed and threeunaccented syllables in this pattern, it is named "Iambic trimeter", etc. We can finally say that a given meter such as "Iambic" may be comprised of long, common, or short measures. The key is the organization of accented and unaccented syllables. Iambic meter is the most common form for psalms and hymns. Another familiar pattern is the trochaic (an accented followed by an unaccented syllable,

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/ x
such as, young-er). Iambic meter is also the most common form for spirituals. There are scores of other patterns, many of which Wesley was master of (See, Baker, *Charles Wesley*, pp. xliv-xlvii, 396-403).

[2] Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, p. 89.

[3] The Christian Tabernacle Church, N. Y., "Swing Hallelujah", Electra EKS-7270.

[4] Baker, *Charles Wesley*, p. xliv.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 54.

[6] Manning, *Wesley and Watts*, pp. 21-23.

[7] Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, p. 357.

[8] Baker, *Charles Wesley*, pp. 37-39.

[9] *ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

[10] Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 252-253.

[11] Williams, Personal Interview.

[12] As quoted in Heilbut, *Gospel Sound*, p. 91.

[13] Baker, *Charles Wesley*, p. 29.

[14] Allen, *Collection of Hymns*, p. 13.

[15] M. L. Scudder, comp., *The Wesleyan Psalmist* (Boston: D. S. King, 1843), pp. 44-45. Also see, Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, pp. 752-753.

[16] Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, pp. 506-507.

[17] Manning, *Wesley and Watts*, p. 101.

[18] Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, p. 229.

[19] *ibid.*, p. 413.

[20] Personal observations, Church Service, March 3, 1974, Philadelphia, Pa.

[21] Worchester, *Spiritual Songs*, p. 439.

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[22] William R. Ferris, "The Rose Hill Service", *Miss. Folklore Register*, 6 (1972), 42.

[23] Thomas Perry, comp., *Collection of Anthems used in His Majesty's Chapels Royal* (New ed.; London: C. & J. Rivington, 1826), p. 13.

[24] Christian Tabernacle Church, "Swing Hallelujah".

[25] Allen, *Collection of Hymns*, p. 61.

[26] *ibid.*, pp. 46, 54-55, 11-12.

[27] Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, p. 40.

[28] William E. Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", *New England Magazine*, n.s. 19 (1898), 452.

[29] Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 449; ________, "Hymns of the Slave and the Freedman", *New England Magazine* n.s. 19 (1899), 621.

[30] *ibid.*, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 453.

[31] Mellinger E. Henry, "Negro Songs from Georgia", *J. of American Folklore*, 44 (1931), 444.

[32] Kilhma, "Sketches in Color", p. 309.

[33] Yoder (*Pennsylvania Spirituals*, pp. 13-18) discusses four variations in the pattern.

[34] Work, *American Negro Songs*, p. 163.

[35] For a look at the variation in verse-chorus-refrain, see the discussion in, Allen, Ware, and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, pp. xliii-xliv.

[36] *ibid.*, p. 165.

[37] C. L. Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands", *Atlantic Monthly*, 13 (1864), 666.

[38] Robert W. Gordon, "Folk Songs of America: Negro Chants", *New York Times Magazine* (May 8, 1927), 11, 21; James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (N. Y.: The Viking Press, 1925), pp. 23-26.

[39] Child, "Charity Bowery", p. 43.

[40] Work, *American Negro Songs*, p. [illegible].

[40] Work, American Negro Songs, p. 117.

[41] Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 453.

[42] Barton, "Recent Negro Melodies", pp. 707, 719.

[43] *ibid.*, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 449.

[44] It may be argued, with much aplomb, that the utlization of unstressed and stressed feet as shown, is not apropos for black spirituals. There is much to say for this. For one thing, the songs were sung in Black English which employed different verb and phrasing constructions as well as stresses. An interesting example of cultural variation is seen in the division of words into an abnormal number of syllables. The phrase, "O dis union" would normally contain four syllables, "union" consisting of two: un-ion. However, in the spiritual, Stand On a Sea of Glass, "union" is separated into three syllables: un-i-on (Barton, "Hymns of the Slave", p. 620).

In many cases, one questions whether the texts were accurately transcribed or even changed slightly to be more suitable to the eye. As we have said, there was great difficulty in transcribing the music of the slave and the exact way in which the music orientated itself to the text is a matter of performance and contextual matters. In other words, one cannot simply look at a text and describe its meter and stress organization. It becomes necessary to do this at least with the music and better after hearing a performance. What may be assumed in belles lettres can not be so with folk culture for they do not conceive of it in the same way.

It is true that even a sophisticated poet may shift the accents of a line for effect during a reading. Therefore our point here becomes one of a contextual need for examining the versification of a song as well as to understand the language used, i.e., Black English. Otherwise, our analysis may simply suggest that the verse tends to be in iambic tetrameter but does not indicate how the song was actually sung.

[45] Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 448; also see, Kilham, "Sketches in Color", p. 309.

[46] McIlhenney, Befo' De War, p. 22; Also see, Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 448.

[47] Work, American Negro Songs, p. 215.

[48] *ibid.*, p. 170.

[49] Worchester, Spiritual Songs, p. 563.

[50] John Nelson Clark Coggin, ed., Plantation Melodies and Spiritual Songs (Philadelphia: Hall-Mack Co., n.d.), No. 14.

[51] These songs may be found, respectively, in, Work, American Negro Songs, p. 92; Coggin, Plantation Melodies, No. 45; Haskell, "Negro Spirituals", p. 581; Allen, Ware, and Garrison, Slave Songs, pp. 25-26.

[52] Allen, Collection of Hymns, p. 16.

[53] Eileen Southern, "Afro-American Musical Materials", Black Perspective in Music, 1 (1973), 25-26.

[54] Also see, Newman I. White, American Negro Folk-Songs (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1965; 1928), pp. 34-35.

[55] Lovell, Black Song, pp. 190-193.

[56] The lines of text used for this discussion were variously drawn from, Work, American Negro Songs; Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns" and "Hymns of the Slave"; W. A. Barrett, "Negro Hymnology", The Musical Times, 15 (1872), 560.

[57] Heilbut, Gospel Sound, p. 22.

[58] Johnson, God Struck Me Dead, p. ix.

[59] The verses were taken from two recordings done in the twenties: Violet Harmony Singers, Vocalion 1095 (New York, ca. April, 1927) and Paramount Jubilee Singers, Paramount 12073 (New York, November, 1923). Both are 78 rpm recordings.

[60] Religious Folk Songs of the Negro (New ed., Hampton: The Institute Press, 1973; 1920), pp. 52-53.

[61] Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals, p. 5 . With black spirituals, there are too many exceptions to conclude that the songs always begin with the chorus. Although James Weldon Johnson (Book of American Negro Spirituals, p. 26), also believes they do, a look at any good collection of spirituals reveals otherwise. Odum, oddly enough, indicates the reverse to this pattern: "with the chorus repeated after each stanza, as the negroes always do....("Religious Folk-Songs", p. 351). The same

holds true for black gospel songs where numerous examples can be found which begin with the chorus. The argument for full integration of the verse-chorus is in agreement with the black gospel song.

[62] Odum, "Religious Folk-Songs", p. 350.

[63] ibid., pp. 350-351.

[64] Ira D. Sankey, et. al., Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 Complete (N. Y.: DaCapo, 1972; 1895), No. 411.

[65] This text is a synthesis of two found in: Coggin, Plantation Melodies, No. 19; Henry, "Negro Songs", pp. 442-443.

[66] Heibut, Gospel Sound, p. 70.

[67] ibid., p. 22.

[68] McKinney, Broadman Hymnal, No. 30.

[69] Paul Oliver, The Meaning of the Blues (N. Y.: Collier, 1963; 1960), pp. 85, 333.

[70] D. K. Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1959), Chpt. IV.

[71] Jackson, Spiritual Folksongs.

[72] ibid., pp. 55-56.

[73] ibid., pp. 37-38.

[74] Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong; Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss, Anglo-American Folksong Style (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

[75] D. K. Wilgus, "Arch and Gordon", Kentucky Folklore Record, 6 (1960), 52.

[76] Parrish, Slave Songs, p. 134.

[77] The 1927 Flood, recorded by Elders McIntorsh and Edwards, Okeh 8647 (Chicago, December 4, 1928), reissued on, "Bessie Johnson: Sanctified, Vol. 1", Herwin 202.

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[78] The Titanic, in notes to, "The Eastern Shore", ed. by Alan Lomax, Prestige International 25009. See, Courlander, Negro Folk Music, pp. 76-78, for other examples.

[79] Memphis Flu, recorded by Elder Curry, Okeh 8857 (Jackson, Miss., December 16, 1931), reissued on, "God Give Me Light: Sanctified, Vol. 2", Herwin 203; Jesus Is Coming Soon, recorded by Blind Willie Johnson, Columbia 14391 (Dallas, December 5, 1927), reissued on "Blind Willie Johnson", ed. by Samuel B. Charters, Folkways FG 3585.

[80] "Folk-Songs in the Making", Literary Digest, 101 (April 13, 1929), 27.

[81] Mother's Last Word to Her Son, recorded by Washington Phillips, Columbia 14369 (Dallas, December 2, 1927), not reissued.

[82] Downward Road Is Crowded, in Odum, "Religious Folk-Songs", p. 311.

[83] Jackson, Colored Sacred Harp.

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CHAPTER XIII

PERFORMANCE - MUSIC

INTRODUCTION

The African concept of worldview and philosophy in religion has persisted within Afro-American culture into the present century due to the stark reality of social exclusion. Social factors have acted to keep the bulk of black Americans from the central core of American society. The result has been a group with similar values, communicative systems and behavior, which have acted as a cohesive unit for the culture and which have been successfully transmitted through several generations. Just as we have regarded the continuation of a basic African philosophy, we can similarly consider the tenaciousness of African music or rather many of its inherent elements. We are concerned with these factors as they appear to be components of Afro-American music and performance behavior. Before proceeding into a discussion of the actual manner of musical expression, we will consider a number of these features separately. However, it should be kept in mind that we are interested in an Afro-American culture not

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African and the overall performance has to be judged in terms of the black experience in the United States.

The underlying frame into which African music and its relatives in the Americas is construed, consists of rhythm, both metrical and melodic. African rhythm is complex, multiple, overpowering and intimately meshed with such cultural attributes as communication in both a sacred and secular sense. Certain rhythms played during religious rites are considered to call upon specific Gods for the ceremony. Rhythm pervades every nook and cranny of the culture whether it be dance, work, or speech. And such is the case with black Americans. Waterman, in an important article which discusses the relationship of African music to the Americas, refers to this rhythm as the "metronome sense."[1] He considers that to truly understand African music, one must grasp its rhythm. The "metronome sense" serves as a foundation for a number of other factors which are of importance to Afro-American music: "dominance of percussion", "off-beat phrasing of melodic accents" and "overlapping call and response patterns".

The significance of the drum in Africa is well-known where there exist a great variety for many purposes and functions. It, by means of different rhythms, controls the dancing and the temper of the performance. Primus makes an interesting point that this control is shifted to the preacher in the United States. He regulates what people do and the rhythm in his speech becomes that of the drum.[2] Actually, anything may be percussive from gongs to handclapping to sansas (thumb pianos). In the United States, the use of the drum in the sense of full African orchestras, has not been as fully developed. During the antebellum period, the tendency was to dissaude the slaves from using them. This was not entirely successful as there are many examples of their use. One early account tells of a South Carolina planter who, in order to preserve peace on his plantation, gave fiddles and drums to his slaves to promote dancing and to keep them happy.[3]

The major percussive instruments became handclapping, foot-stomping and body movements, if anything, suggested a silent mark of time and rhythm. Later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the employment of washboards, bells, triangles and jugs served the same purpose, a subject to which we shall return.

Waterman indicates that African polymeter or the multiple use of two or more meters of rhythm, is absent in Afro-American performance. Instead, it is present by "implication". The presence of a basic singular meter is undoubtedly due to the influence of the European concept of time.

Syncopation is the accenting of the normally

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unstressed beats in a measure and takes into consideration the melody as a rhythmic mode relative to that of the regular pulsation of the implied beat. It is, then, unpunctual and while the listener waits for the stressing of the normal beats, his sense of expectation becomes disturbed by such a shift in accentuation. Syncopation is typical of all African derived music but is also common to that of Europe. What distinguishes the former is the complexity and cultural emphasis on the technique which when considered in conjunction with the normal dominance of rhythm magnifies its effect. The tendency is to upset the normal stresses within large segments of notes, the result giving a steady cadence of shifting punctuations. The rhythmic display is compelling and by its shear momentum propels the dancers and showers the listener with wave after wave of pulsations. The results are pronounced enough to have Waterman rename the process, "off-beat phrasing of melodic accents". As he points out for Africa, the combination of several meters with this off-beat phrasing can lead to great complications and variations.

The final characteristic discussed by Waterman is the overlapping call and response construction. As he suggests, it is common to find antiphonal phrasing most everywhere but its use is more prominent in

African related cultures and, more importantly, the call overlaps with the response and vica-versa. In our consideration of antiphony in the performance of an anthem, one voice might alternate with a chorus. But the vocal parts are distinct; there is no overlap. In the singing of spirituals by black Americans, the leader will not be able to complete his verse before the chorus begins its part. The reason for this appears to be the need to start a given part on the proper beat of the measure, not the aesthetic attained through distinct sections. The underlying basis for overlapping call and response patterns, then, is rhythmic.

Our consideration of syncopation or Waterman's term, "off-beat phrasing of melodic accents", brings us to a natural extension of rhythm, "polyrhythm". We refer here to the multiple occurrence of accents within the music due to the summation of those units which produce a variety of patterns of stresses against the regular meter. Thus, within an Afro-American performance, multiple rhythms may be produced by foot-stomping, hand-clapping, a diversity of instruments and voices. This phenomena is distinct from polymeter which refers to the basic pulsation of notes such as 2/4, 4/4, 3/4 time, or some combination thereof. Polyrhythm is not unique to African-derived cultures but

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its use is exaggerated. And again, its basis lies within the prominence of rhythm within the culture.

Another device, which is essentially rhythmic in nature, is repetition. We have previously pointed out that in the spiritual, much of the chorus and verse may be repeated over and over again. The same may be said for the music. In such cases where certain melodic phrases reoccur continuously - producing what is called a "riff" - a tension is produced in the music. The feeling is one of building toward a climax where the impulse of the rhythm becomes an electric force of energy. As the religious service grows in momentum, this energy blends into ecstasy where-in many of the worshippers will become possessed or do the "holy dance". Repetition, then, through a rhythmic tour-de-force, aids in producing the proper mood for conveyance of the Holy Spirit.

Other characteristics of an Afro-American performance concern the many ornamentation within the melody and the atypical vocal qualities. There is a preponderance of slurs, turns, quavers, glides, portamento (sliding from one note to another without a break), melisma (the sounding of a syllable over several notes) and falsetto. The falsetto, where the voice breaks from a medium ranged-tone to on that is higher

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than the singer's natural range, is a common attribute of West African singing. In the United States, it appears to carry with it a stylistic and aesthetic strategy in performance. There is also emphasis on what is called the "blue tones" of the music - the general tonal area lying near the flatted thirds and sevenths of the scale. The singer will strike near the pure tone but will keep a shade sharp or flat from it. It is this playing with the note that gives the peculiar sound. To approximate it on a piano, one has to alternate the flatted third with its natural, the combination giving the same general effect. It is difficult to notate the pitch of these tones since they vary from ideal European standards. Courlander suggests that instead of being accidentals, the "blue notes" are actually an Afro-American performance characteristic in which the singer purposely toys with the tones.[4]

LINING-OUT

This form of singing psalms and hymns originated in England during the seventeenth century. The Westminister Assembly of 1644 suggested it adoption for those instances, "...where many of the congregation cannot read...".[5] The practice quickly spread to New England during the latter part of that century and became entrenched within the religious service. We have

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already quoted Samuel Davies' description of the slaves' taste for Psalmody. There have been numerous references in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries concerning the lining out of hymns by blacks.[6]

The accepted reason for using "lining-out" was to teach the songs to those who could not read. It was assumed that the practice would cease after the congregation digested the material. Some black assemblies, in fact, followed this rule.[7] However, in more cases than not, the custom prevailed even though the congregation had memorized the songs.[8] "Lining-out" became a traditional mode for singing hymns and was continued for this purpose up to the present.[9] Spirituals were never lined, only psalms and hymns.[10]

In lining a hymn, also termed "deaconing-off", "Dr. Watts" and "long meter",[11] the preacher or precentor would call out the tune and meter and also set the pitch. In our discussion on psalms for the preceding chapter, it was indicated that Watts re-wrote many individual psalms in each of three measures - short, common and long. Although the psalm was the same, the wording had to vary based on differences in verse length (see footnote one in chapter XII). It was necessary to co-ordinate the verse line with its given tune. The precentor would then line-out one or, at most, two phrases at a time in quick

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sucession. The congregation would repeat the passage in a slow manner with great embellishment to the melody.

In actual practice, at least with black congregations, only a few tunes were used and little attention was given to short or long measure, the texts being adaptable to many tunes. Kilham, speaking I believe of spirituals, indicates that for this song type, "...a long metre hymn will go stumbling over a short metre tunes, or a hymn in short metre will be swallowed up by a tune twice as long as itself."[12] The same undoubtedly occurred with hymn tunes. Jackson lists three ways in which psalms and hymns may be sung by blacks: "short Meter", "long meter" and "Doctor Watts".[13] The meaning of these terms has nothing to do with the length of the text, as described above, but with the number of bars of music which affect the time to sing the song. Thus, more bars of music will result in a longer tune and, in turn, will give the singer a greater margin for embellishment. "Short meter", then, is not lining-out but a singing of the hymn in the proper manner. "Long Metre", is the lining-out of two phrases at a time and in "Doctor Watts", on line. In this case, "Doctor Watts" style would take longer to perform since the one line is stretched and embellished to a greater degree. However, Tallmadge reported that a Buffalo congregation used "long meter" and "Doctor Watts" interchangeably and

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did not make a distinction between them.[14]

Woofter, in describing lining-out on St. Helena Island, gave an idea of the amount of time taken for singing.

> The song leader announces the song, gives the meter-purely a matter of form, meaning nothing to the congregation - and lines out a part of the first stanza. This is sung, after which more lines are given out and sung.... To a "foreigner" the singing may seem painfully slow, for, where it takes the ordinary white church choir about fifteen seconds to sing the first two lines of Jesus, Lover of My Soul, it takes these people fifty. High-pitched voices performing upon the prolonged tones of these hymns are singularly lacking in that emotional quality which is associated with the unrestrained singing of spirituals. A few tunes suffice for all hymns and the monotony of these is scarcely relieved by the attempts at harmony which are made.[15]

The organization of the practice is similar to the call and response technique which we have touched on. However, instead of having overlap, the parts of the precentor and chorus flow, more or less, into each other. A further difference is that the content of the response is the same as the call except that it is embellished in melody. The florid quality of the response is repleate with melisma, quavers, portamento, appoggiatura (a non-harmonized accented note adjacent to a harmonized, less accented note) and use of the blue tones. The performance can be breathtaking with its intensity and force and at times appears to mimic a blues. Tallmadge suggests that the heavy ornamentation inherent in many gospel presentations is taken directly

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from lining-out.[16] A final observation is the performing distinction from spirituals and gospel music. Lining-out lacks the percussive quality and spontaneity found in both of the latter. Rhythm seems to be subjugated to a secondary position behind the embellished figures of the melody. It is too structured. There are a few recorded examples by congregations[17] and soloists.[18]

THE SONG-SERMON

The song-sermon is intimately associated with the sermon proper. At the beginning of the preacher's discourse, he speakes his words, indicating the subject of his choice or the scriptural passage from where his text had been adopted. The first part of the sermon is spoken and acts as a warm-up. When the minister passes this point, his voice takes on different qualities and it may be said that he has assumed a "preaching stance". The audience by now has been aroused and is actively responding with "Amens", "Hallelujah", and "Yes, Lord", etc.

There are two vocal characterizations which the preacher may assume during the more fervid part of his sermon, both described by James and Stearns.[19] The first is what James refers to as the "gravy" style. Instead of being spoken, the verse is delivered in short, clipped phrases, almost hurried-like, with a great amount of constriction and tightness in the voice. The words are sung in somewhat of a monotone with what James indicates as a, "...buzzing, roaring sound which blends with the words and seems a part of them." It sound like a gruffness or growl in the voice. While the preacher gives his call, the congregation responds forcefully and with as much fiery spirit. The "gravy" type of preaching has been likened, by Stearns, to the work song grunt to which it does bear a strong resemblance.

The other type is called "zooning" to which Stearns compares it to the field holler cry. Indeed, the preacher may break into a falsetto or draw the words into a cry, using his best ability to slide, slur or moan the words to emphasize the text. Whereas the "gravy" delivery is more or less in a monotone, "zooning" carries the voice into octaves and there is a tendency to hold certain notes for emphasis. It is like singing. The relationship to the field holler and the more mournful blues vocalizations is very apparent. During "zooning", the preacher may repeat words and phrases over and over again for emphasis, changing his intonation as he does so. This repetition is particularly effective in stimulating the worshippers and many may sing along with the leader.

During a sermon, the preacher may use either or both styles at will. These vocalizations are not limited to church services but may be part of most any activity church services but may be part of most any activity such as baptizings and funerals. It is possible that the song-sermon served as a basis for many spirituals. Barton observed that many religious songs which he heard sung by railroad gangs were of this same type.[20] This concurs with the relationship of their sound to work song grunts and field hollers and cries. Barton felt that they originated at wakes during the all-night vigil and were subsequently modified and further elaborated as to verse structure into true spirituals. According to him,

> These songs are long, low, monotonous croons, wherein the recitative is half sung, half spoken, and the voices other than that of the leader merely hum with occasional ejaculations and an intermittant refrain.[21]

The relationship of the song-sermon to Gordon's description of chants is also very close.

> Instead of a clearly marked tune or melody, these songs have a monotonous sing-song chant, its rhythm sometimes closely imitating that of a drum and always quite different from the slow dignity of the chant as we know it.[22]

THE RING-SHOUT

The "ring-shout" or "shout" - also known as the "Glory Shout", "Christian Shout" or "Holy Dance"[23] - was not a sole manifestation of a church service but could have been part of a funeral or just simple plantation entertainment. Essentially, it is a kind of dance in which the

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participants move about in a circle with a sort of shuffle motion, being "based" by a number of singers. The term is distinct from "shouting" which is a type of arousing voice and body exercise heard in much of Afro-American ritual.[24] The ring-shout, however, is differentiated by its own rules of performance and organization. One can say, in a manner of speaking, that there is a great deal of "shouting" during a "shout".

Undoubtedly, the ring-shout was practiced, in the form of which we soon shall describe, during the 1700s. But the earliest date of reference on record, is around the War of 1812.[25] Watson gave a sketchy account of a shout which took place near Philadelphia in 1819.[26] It has also been reported in Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, Louisiana, and the Sea Islands, with perhaps more frequency in the latter region. With time, the ring-shout lost favor, even among rural congregations, undoubtedly due to the efforts of both white and black ministers[27] and changing attitudes in Afro-American culture as a whole. At one time, it was commonly held during the evening and Sunday service, especially on Christmas and New Year's. But over the years, in certain areas, the practice was relegated only to Christmas.[28]

Almost every religious ritual in Africa has some kind of dancing, singing and drumming associated with it. Here, the concept of religion centers on the need of each man to increase his life force and he does this by appealing to the Gods through these three activities. Together they provide the means in which the ecstatic moment is reached where-upon communication to the particular deity is attained. The ring-shout is a dance of ecstasy in which the Holy Spirit manifests itself much as in Africa. However, hand-clapping and foot-stamping are substituted for the drum. A recording made in Louisiana, in 1934, fools the ear. Drums seem to be in evidence but it is only the sound of feet beating out a complex rhythm.[29]

The ring-shout is related to African circle dances that are performed in a counter-clockwise manner. The body positions are quite similar as well. Portia Smiley found a group of Africans near Calhoun, Alabama, who arrived in the United States after the Civil War. Their version of the shout was quite African in form and when compared to other descriptions of the dance (see below) is undistinguisable.

> The leader in their "shout" will hold his right hand to his face, his head bent to the right, and call out, "Higha!" the circle rejoining.
>
> Leader. Higha!
> Circle. Magalujassy!
> Leader. Higha!
> Circle. Lujassychunbo!
> Um! Um! Um!
> Leader. Higha!
> Circle. Haykeekeedayo, ho!
>
> The women move slowly around the circle, their left feet somewhat in advance of the right, the right drawn

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> up to left as it is moved on a few inches at a time and in rhythm. The body is slightly bent, with the buttocks protruding. The men stand erect.[30]

Other writers have compared the dancing of black Americans to that in Africa.[31]

The word, "shout", in Gullah appears to have a West African derivation. Turner found that "ʃɐut", in Gullah, where "ʃ" acts similar to the "sh" in English in such words as "shoe" and "shun", is related to the West African "ʃaut".[32] The former refers to the ring-dance which we have been describing. The other means "to move around". Another form of the word, "ʃauwata", means "to run until exhausted".

Descriptions of the shout vary as to whether or not the dancers encircle a singer or object and to feet and body movements. The Lomaxes considered five defining features.

> 1. All parts of the body are involved, the hands, feet, belly, hips.
> 2. Its religious communion actually is the dancing-singing.
> 3. Participants always shuffle counter-clockwise in a ring.
> 4. The song revolves around a call and response pattern, emphasizing rhythm at the cost of melody.
> 5. The shout may last for hours, building up in tempo until the pace becomes almost hypnotic.[33]

Each point is common to all descriptions of the shout. However, Christensen reported that the dancers may suddenly reverse their movement and start in the opposite direction.[34]

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To understand fully the structure of the dance, the ensuing footwork and body movements, it is beneficial to present a number of eyewitness accounts. The more famous publicized descriptions of the shout do not place a central figure within the ring. Generally, the shout begins at a walking pace, then quickens in tempo where-upon the basic step is a sort of shuffle. There are a variety of body movements and a main group of singers or "basers".

> But the benches are puched back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women...all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the "sperichil" is struck up, begin first walking and by-and-by shuffling round, one after the other, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken from the floor, and in progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion, which agitates the entire shouter.... Sometimes he dances silently, sometimes as he shuffles he sings the chorus of the spiritual, and sometimes the song itself is also sung by the dancers. But more frequently a band, composed of some of the best singers and of tired shouters, stand at the side of the room to "base" the others, singing the body of the song and clapping their hands together or on the knees. Song and dance are alike extremely energetic.[35]

Spaulding emphasized the foot-work of the dance.

> Three or four, standing still, clapping their hands and beating time with their feet, commence singing in unison..., while the others walk round in a ring, in single file, joining also in the song...with increased vigor...strike into the shout step, observing most accurate time with the music. This step is something halfway between a shuffle and a dance.... At the end of each stanza of the song the dancers stop short with a slight stamp on the last note, and then, putting the other foot forward, proceed through the next verse. They will often dance to the same song for twenty or thirty minutes...varying the monotony of their movement by walking for a little while...they frequently keep up the shout for hours.[36]

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Parrish was much impressed by the body positions of a Sea Island shouter.

> It positively hurts that I have no moving picture of her statuesque, rhythmic pauses, or the pause Gertrude makes with head and shoulders bowed slightly forward, arms held close to the body, elbows bent at right angles, forearms thrust out before her, and palms upturned in a supplicating gesture.[37]

In Darien, Georgia, the steps were greatly varied.

> The steps used...are varied. Though every singer will move exactly in time with the rhythm, and the tap and shuffle of the feet will accentuate it till the floor shakes, no two will perhaps adopt the same posture or use the same step. An aged auntie shuffles along with hands clasped and head bowed, her feet never actually leaving the floor. A younger woman next to her alternately trips and stamps with her feet, her head thrown back and hands clapping time. Still another, hands on hips, glides and sways with a sidewise motion, facing now in and now out of the circle. The men are almost without exception patting and clapping time with hands held before them, and many are particular to keep their feet always at right angles, stepping and shuffling in a sort of herringbone pattern.[38]

Smiley points out that with the Geechee of the Florida Keys, the right foot is always behind the left. In South Carolina, the feet were parallel.[39] In actual fact, the steps employed varied with the tune.

The accounts in which a central figure or object is circled are basically similar to the above but are more sketchy in their depiction. There are some differences. Davenport spoke of a "roper dance" in Alabama and "Rocking Daniel" in Florida.[40] In the former case, there was, "an excited embrace of the sexes followed by a march around a central figure who claps his hands and shouts vociferously." "Rocking Daniel" is much like that described for the normal ring-shout except the leader of the congregation is encircled. A letter written by a visitor to the South in 1855, told of how the slaves took hold of each others hands and moved in a circle around a tree singing, "I'm gwine away up yonder, See God, feedin' on de lamb! and When I get ober Jordan, I'll be a hero den".[41] Although the context was not a church, the event took place during a revival. It is well known that certain trees (such as the Odum) in Africa carry supernatural power. The joining of hands is not present in all descriptions of the shout. When it is, as in the case cited above, it is a sign of a communion between the participants. Lyell, in fact, suggests this.

> At the Methodist prayer-meetings, they are permitted to move round rapidly in a ring, joining hands in token of brotherly love, presenting first the right hand and then the left, in which maneuvre, I am told, they sometimes contrive to take enough exercise to serve as a substitute for a dance, it being, in fact a kind of spiritual boulanger.[42]

There are descriptions of shouts which appear to be vestigial traces of that which we have discussed. At one service in Port Royal, following the benediction and during the usual time for the shout, the worshippers simply sang, clapped, and stamped their feet for twenty minutes.[43] There was no dancing but much shouting. The

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reason for the presence of many of these rather shallow exercises of the real thing, was due to the denouncement of the dance by educated preachers. When Daniel Payne became perturbed over a ring-shout,

> ...they stopped their dancing and clapping of hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro.[44]

This even bothered him. At camp-meetings, the preachers prohibited the shout.

> ...in a third (tent) women were dancing "the holy dance" for one of the newly-converted. This dancing, however, having been forbidden by the preachers, ceased immediately on our entering the tent. I saw merely a rocking movement of women, who held each other by the hand in a circle, singing the while.[45]

The attitude of some that the ring-shout was a barbarous activity led to an omission of the dancing. Thus, it seems, that with the suspension of dancing some form of body movement was retained which we presently regard as a manifestation of "shouting".

The songs used during the shout were drawn from the body of songs composed by blacks, never hymns. On the Sea Islands, spirituals were classified into, "sperichils" and "runnin' sperichils" with the latter being used for the shout.[46] However, most any tune could be re-adapted, although some would never be used for this purpose and certain ones like, Shall I Die? and I Can't Stay Behind, My Lord, were among those more commonly used. A re-adaptation would require structural changes in the measure.

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For the most part, the shout was quite fast paced but there were some which were not. In some parts of the Sea Islands, the children, during their own shouts, were found to dance energetically but, "the shouting of the grown people is rather solemn and impressive then otherwise".[47] A list of which songs were commonly employed for the ring-shout may be found in several sources.[48]

As has been indicated previously, the usual organization of the ring-shout was to have a small group of singers stand in the corner to "base" the dancers. Normally, there was a leader who sang the verse while the "basers" gave forth with the chorus. At times, the dancers would join the "basers". The resulting musical relationship was an overlapping call and response pattern.

> One leading singer carries on the song, stringing verse after verse of the most absurd stuff, which he often makes up as he goes along. The others "base" him, as it is called; that is sing the chorus or refrain. The "base" almost always overlaps the tune, striking in before the line is finished, when the singer at once stops without completing the line, taking up his part again in his time before the base is quite through. The whole is accompanied by clapping of hands.[49]

The songs were organized according to whether the dancers were "walking" or "shuffling".[50] The verse was invariably sung to the walk which was slow-paced and perhaps repeated twice. Following this, the tempo shifted to double time and the chorus would be repeated over and over. This was regarded as the shout proper. Sometimes the pace was

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slackened to accomodate those who were tired, and the walk repeated. Certain shout songs were more complicated where a sequence of different verses would be sung to the shout proper instead of the repeating of a single stanza.

Actually, the ring-shout is not a dance in the commonly accepted sense. It is important not to cross the feet. During the shout there were observers called "watchmen" who would throw someone out of the church if the taboo was broken.[51] A basis for this belief lay in the African philosophy that one side of the body represented good and the other evil and they should never be crossed.[52] Of course, both white and black fundamentalist Christians believed that dancing was sinful in itself. But blacks related dancing to crossing the feet which gave credence to the ring-shout. Interestingly, many even refrained from crossing their legs while sitting because, "crossing the legs is the same as dancing, and dancing is sinful".[53] Probably, the main reason that the shout became an attractive adjunct to plantation recreation, was that it provided the youth with a way to "dance" that was fully accepted by the religious community.

The shout was considered as part of the religious service. On the Sea Islands, some did object to its practice outside the church, despite its popularity with the youth.[54] Worshippers felt that the ring-shout was an integral part of the service, although it always took place after benediction. One old man professed that, "it exercise the frame".[55] William Elliott, a whiteman who attended many shouts on the Sea Islands, felt that the main part of the service was an introduction to the ring-shout.[56] Daniel Payne was told,

> Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring .... The Spirit of God works upon people in different ways. At camp-meeting there must be a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted.[57]

From these statements, the shout appears to be a means of implementing the regular service where the objective is to induce the Holy Spirit. Through the action of "dancing" and ecstasy, this objective is met. But there seems to be a further importance attached to the ring or circle itself.

Most every African dance is performed in a circle and there are numerous accounts of a similar geometry in the Americas.[58] The importance of the circle is supernatural where-in its circumference workds to produce ebullience.[59] It is magic. A ghost story told by boatmen, around 1910, tells of a ring-dance within which a ghostly apparition appears playing his fiddle.[60] Does the dance in the story work to produce the ghost just as the ring-shout operates to reveal the Holy Spirit? Another interesting use of the circle appeared in a vision. Here, the individual was transported to heaven by a white cloud, "where the Lord spoke to him in the form of a flaming circle."[61] The similarity to the Holy Spirit speaking to the members of a ring-shout is apparent. The importance of the circle is undoubtedly African-derived. There were medieval white religious dances which formed a circle in which some sacred power was induced.[62] But as we have previously pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the presence of many cultural similarities says nothing for its place and meaning in black culture. Thus, in this case, numerous examples of circle dances, or use of a "circle", are known in Afro-American culture which appear to have an underlying symbolic resemblance - the magical induction of a force, either religious or otherwise, in which the participant gains power to strategically better his position vis-à-vis God or his fellow man.

SPIRITUAL-SINGING

"Spiritual-Singing" is not the same as "the singing of a spiritual". In the latter case, the speaker may be referring to the singing of a spiritual in any style. For instance, a moder-day sanctified church will add the songs to their repertoire but they are performed in a gospel style. Their distinction as spirituals is all but obscured save for the words or unless someone knows their history. Some of the youth in these churches may not even recognize

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them as such and consider them gospel songs (see pages 23-24 of the Introduction). "Spiritual-singing", then, is a distinct style in which any song may be performed. It has typified the music of the black church since the antebellum and emancipation periods and still may be found in rural areas. We must also be concerned with those art forms which have attempted to preserve the spiritual but at the same time destroyed a great deal of the beauty and personal expression that was inherent in its natural context. For now we will be concerned with the foundation of the style as presented by the masses of black Americans during the nineteenth century.

A significant, if not symbolic, attribute of spiritual-singing is its attachment to a particular way of life. It is symbolic because it represents the rural masses of blacks who continued to live in the South subsequent to emancipation and well into the present century. We mean here that the style of singing spirituals during the antebellum period mirrored an unsophisticated and undeducated group who visualized their religion in African terms. It was not the kind of performance one could find where the people were of a higher class, education or social standing. Our previous discussion of the "shouting" church is apropos here, for the people in question performed, as in the case of the ring-shout, with

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much emotionalism, body movements and expressiveness. The format was action-orientated where the individual did not sit and wait for God but made an effort to attain a new relationship through his own behavior wherein he would be reborn. None of this was the case with the Fisk Jubilee Singers or such concert artists as Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes who presented theatergoers with superficial versions of the songs. The performances were not religious-centered but conceived within a commercial stage setting for only aesthetic purposes. Their renditions were only copies. In a sense, we could call them singers of spirituals compared with a primitive Baptist church who were spiritual-singers.

In another way of thinking, groups like the Fisk Singers, with their polished approach, were a step away from the basic organizational aspect of a church. In the church, the singing was completely congregational in nature. Here, the interaction between performer and audience lay within the limits of a preacher-congregation feedback system for the common purpose of worship. The membership was at once both performer and audience. The preacher directed the sequence of worship within the entirety of that event. The audience, then, were participants in this activity where their intentions were directed toward each other. With the Fisk Singers, where a distinction existed

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between performer and audience, the latter element consisting of diverse segments of both the white and black population alike, there was no direct participation by the listeners. If there was any expressive interest, it was merely aesthetic. The performance had nothing to do with worldview or the way in which people order their everyday lives. Thus, the orientation and context of the Fisk-type groups were quite different. Yet we must be concerned with them, for the Jubilee Singers promoted a more cosmopolitan style of singing which gave birth to the modern gospel quartets.

The idea involved in the oneness of those participating in church singing and the diversity found in a commercialized concert brings us to the concept of internal-external relationships. In the antebellum-type church where there was congregational singing, emotion and expression became internalized within the congregation. They were all performers and each expressed their feelings conspicuously. During a concert, if any members of the audience experienced some sensitivity, it was not directly expressed by them through song but externalized onto the singers. The Fisk Jubilee prototype engendered numerous quartet groups many of which originated within the kind of shouting church that we have discussed. In their role as church singers, this same paradigm held true. The congregation

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began to externalize their expressions onto the singers. The church now approached a real audience-performer situation. Of course, the relationship between the Fisk concert program and gospel quartets performing in their own church is quite different since the reference groups and the contexts involved in each performance are totally dissimilar. But the rule stills holds. The same thing occurred when choirs began to be favored by the church in the late nineteenth century. Today, practically every urban church can boast a choir. Thus, in the modern "shouting" church within the city, instead of the songs being congregational and internalized, they have become externalized onto the choir. This is a typical pattern of urban areas and the modern church.[63] The congregational model was more illustrative of the rural antebellum South and with those groups which have continued a similar way of life such as on the Sea Islands. The former is the typical mode where gospel-singing is manifest and the latter where spiritual-singing is found. In his notes to the Folkways record set on the South, Ramsey considered this point when comparing the singing of the congregation to that of a choir.

> The difference is that the "congregation" consists of the rest of the singing group. The real congregation, the one that used to join in all the singing, sits silent on the wooden benches, and listens. Its emotional participation has become externalized; the leader and singers of the young gospel group "act out" the old emotions and music, while the real congregation "identifies" with the performance. What seems

> to be taking place, then, is the crystallization of a traditional "folk" observance into a more or less self-conscious art form.[64]

Of course, this "art form" was epitomized in the concert performances of the Fisk Singers and others.

In actual fact, the system became partitioned into three segments versus the older two. The leader must now communicate to both a choir and an audience. With the bi-partite organization, the leader had only to be concerned with the congregation. In the tri-partite system, the source of music is relegated to the choir which pre-plans the program for that service. The preacher, unless he is musical director, does not take a direct part in the planning. He may signal or formally announce when a selection is to be sung by the choir. Of course, the congregation may sporadically join in the singing but this is not typical of everyone. They are all drawn into singing during those songs designated as "congregational hymns". For the most part, the tunes which the congregation itself initiate occur not at the regular service but during testifying. Here, a member will give a short talk and end it with a song. Others may spontaneously jump up and start a tune. Testifying, then, becomes totally internalized, for the member is given a chance to express himself, initiate a song and be joined by the entire congregation. The testifyer, for a short moment, becomes the preacher or leader in guiding the congregation.

In the bi-partite system, as it existed among untoutered blacks in the nineteenth century, the music was congregational in nature where the singers performed spontaneously, without plan or organization. A song may have been initiated by the leader himself. The congregation, as the mood struck them, would sing songs of their own choosing. In fact, there were favorites that each member liked and which were regarded as their own, "special song".[65] Each congregation had singers who's repertoire and abilities were respected by the church. At times the leader would ask someone for a song.[66] Anyone could respond but usually it was one of the best singers who would begin the melody with the congregation falling in behind. One eyewitness account described a "mourner's" prayer given by a deacon. As he proceeded, a worshipper caught the idea for a spiritual.

> The older women are swaying back and forth, and one of them is tapping nervously with her foot. When finally in the course of his prayer he mentions something that calls to mind the words of an old apiritual, this same woman who is tapping begins, probably quite unconsciously, to croon it almost under her breath.
>
> The spark catches, others near her join in, and the crooning becomes an audible undertone - "Jesus, Jesus, is my ond-ly friend..." Louder and louder it grows as more and more join in, till it seems actually to compete with the prayer. The deacon pauses a second, ceases abruptly his chanting, and drops into prose for a concluding line or so. And as he ceases the spiritual bursts forth free of all restraint....[67]

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Many writers have noticed the plaintive and melancholy character with which many of the spirituals were sung.[68] To sing some of them, one had to be in the proper frame of mind. For Motherless Child, you had to be, "in a mourn", i.e., disconsolate.

> You des' gotter staht dat song in a mourn. Dey hain't no uddah way to git de hang ub it. Fus' time I hear it, I wis' de lawd I dud lun it. I tried an' tried, an' couldn't. I went home studyin' it, an' all to once it come a-ringin' through me. Den I sung it all night.[69]

It was "moanin'" music.

> Dese 'spirituals' am de purtiest moanin' music in de whole world, case dey is de whole Bible sung out and out.[70]

Essentially, one had to get in the spirit and when that happened it was signified by certain body movements.

> They didn't get out of their seats while I was there, but whenever the "sperrit" of the song moved them very much, would pat their feet and flap their arms.[71]

The movements were described with soft and easy, rippling verbs such as, "rocking", "swaying" and "patting". One remarked that the old spirituals will, "...make the whole church just sing and rock and pat...".[72] Another said, "Long time ago people used to sing, rock, and moan. Call that 'rocking Daniel'...".[73] A young white woman had attempted, with some frustration, to learn how to sing a few spirituals from an old ex-slave. After a time,

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> ...the girl got to swaying and humming gently, patting her foot the while. The old woman turned and, patting the girl on the knee, said: "Dat's right, honey! Dat's de berry way! Now you's a-gittin' it, sho nuff! You'll nebbah larn 'em in de wuld till you sings dem in de sperrit!"[74]

Of course, when the Holy Spirit surfaced there would be much shouting and perhaps dancing. But the music was never overtly "fast" and "jumpy" like the gospel music of the twentieth century.[75] Recent recordings of spiritual-singing by those from the Sea Islands bear this out.[76]

Those which were sung up-tempo and expressed joy were the jubilees and then there were those songs for the ring-shout. Even the up-tempo songs had some kind of subtlety to them. I think part of the distinction between the force of a gospel performance and the easiness of spiritual-singing was in the use of musical instruments. We know that the slaves and many rural congregations, even to this day, regarded their use as sinful.[77] The musical instruments added another rhythmical and melodic dimension which could destroy the approach taken by spiritual-singing. The presence of a piano would force the singers to follow it, not their own whims. Cognizance and allowance must be taken of its presence. There are various rhythmic and melodic aspects to the use of instruments which we shall discuss more fully under gospel-singing.

One blackman from the Sea Islands classified spirituals as, "sperichils", "runnin' sperichils", and those for "just sittin' round".[78] "Runnin' sperichils" referred to those used in the shout and perhaps the latter were of the slowest, more personable type which were sung solo, such as, Deep River and Motherless Child. But as the authors point out, despite the fact that there was some degree of adherence, there was also much re-adaptation and re-structuring. Tunes sung for ring-shouts were slowed down for other occasions and, of course, the reverse if that was the case. For instance, Mckim noted that the spiritual, Poor Rosy, could be sung in a number of tempos. The text and music of this tune may be found in the Allen, Ware and Garrison collection.

> On the water, the oars dip "Poor Rosy" to an even andante; a stout boy and girl at the hominy-mill will make the same "Poor Rosy" fly, to keep up with the whirling stone; and in the evening, after the day's work is done, "Heab'n shall-a be my home" peals up slowly and mournfully from the distant quarters.[79]

Thus, it was the context which determined how the piece was sung. In other instances, an up-tempo song that was popular in one church may have been slowed down in another because the pastor thought it too unrefined at that fast pace.[80]

According to Allen, Ware and Garrison, most of the songs were in 2/4 time.[81] Triple meter was in fact a rarity. Although true, what is very common is a mixture of 2/4 and 3/4 time.[82] The difficulty in realizing this

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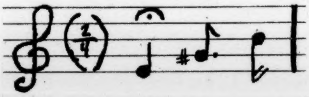
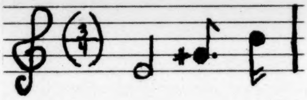
probably came about from problems in notating the music. Even in transcribing an old recording of Roll Jordan Roll by a later contingent of Fisk Jubilee Singers (ca. 1913),[83] I found much difficulty in deciding whether the opening bar should be written in 2/4 or 3/4.





The former meter was settled on. Despite the sophistication of the Fisk Singers, there was a shift to 3/8 time during the tune and variation from rubato to broadening to bars which were measured faster. Indeed, it is not only difficult to notate the vocal graces but the rhythm is just as perplexing.

The Allen, Ware and Garrison collection stipulated that the tempo of most songs fell within ♩ = 100-120, i.e., there would be 100 to 120 crotchet (quarter-note) beats per minute. I have similar results in timing recent recordings made on the Sea Islands.[84] Many of the spirituals that were "mourned" in a church were undoubtedly sung much slower than, ♩ = 100. But tempo change was only one facet of the re-structuring. At a slower pace, more

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ornamentation could be added. The patterns of hand-clapping and foot-stamping were not the same for a given song sung during a shout compared to its use at a regular service. In the singing of a spiritual at its normal tempo, the feet would strike the strong accents of the measure and the hands "syncopate" by hitting the weaker beats. Thus, the following occurs, where ">" represents the strong beat and "—" the weak one.

	beat			
	1	2	3	4
Foot	>		>	
Hand		-		-

In the shout, while the dancers moved about the circle, their heels might hit these weaker beats as well as the hands. Thus,

	beat			
	1	2	3	4
Foot	>	-	>	-
Hand		-		-

Further, the hand-clapping was usually variable as it not only struck the weak beat, but sounded at points between the strong and weak stresses. As we shall see, the use of purely rhythmic instruments, such as the ubiquitious tambourine, added a further level of "subdviding" the rhythm.

Another structural problem was in the case of a song adapted to rowing. The normal organizational pattern of the hand and foot had no meaning and instead notation of the rhythm must accomodate the motion of the oars.

> two measures are to be sung to each stroke, the first measure being accented by the beginning of the stroke, the second by the rattle of the oars in the row locks........they rowed from sixteen to thirty strokes a minute; twenty-four was the average.[85]

For the readaptation of the shout-song, Knee-Bone, the rhythmic structure changed accordingly.

> The speed of the rowing version must also have been slower, for one could not possibly row to the rhythm of this version........no musical meter known... can represent exactly the rhythm of oars in their locks...it is something intangible and personal, like the beat of a Viennese waltz........for the sake of simplicity I have represented the rowing rhythm in this transcription as 2/8, 3/8, 3/8, equal to a full measure of time for the voices and other rhythms.[86]

Ricks, in an unpublished dissertation, compared the musical traits of songs performed by spiritual-singers, jubilee quartets and gospel groups in an attempt to clarify style.[88] It seems that each body of song was analyzed from actual performances which were typical of the original manner of presentation, i.e., a congregation for spiritual-singing, a quartet or somewhat larger group that performed in the style of the early jubilee singers, and modern gospel units which were represented by soloists, choirs and "small groups". The author made recordings of these combinations during his own field work in the 1950s and transcribed the performances for the study. For the analysis, ten songs from each category were chosen but unfortunately no information as to location, date and context were given. There is a great discrepancy in analyzing printed scores of songs versus the examination of transcriptions of actual performances. For one thing, musical elements are found in the latter which do not appear in the former. But most importantly, it gives an idea of how the artists interpret the material. A score of a spiritual printed fifty years ago and sold in today's shops tells us only that the song is still popular but nothing about its current manner of performance and arrangement or even meaning for the congregation. Only a study of the actual presentation will support such findings. From this point of view, the author's work is important for our discussion of the overall manner of presentation of each style.

Ricks' comparison is a means of distinguishing three styles of performance. Spirituals dominate the repertoire of spiritual-singers and jubilee-singers alike and thus the difference between the two lies not necessarily in the structural distinctions within the songs themselves but with the performance of them. Because the author's sampling size was relatively small, he ideally should have had a control to cover idiosyncracies in the songs. The best control would be an analysis of a number of songs each performed by all three categories. Any resulting variations, would be wholly due to stylistic differences

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in performance and would underline the central distinctions which characterize each musical approach. Nevertheless, Ricks' results do offer a look at some subtleties between the classes.

Rick's found that there were no significant differences between the three categories in the following areas: percent of ascending intervals, percent of descending intervals, number of wide intervals, number of minor thirds, number of triadic split fifths, type of scales and modes, the subjective tonic and duration tone, syncopation and the presence of offbeat phrasing of melodic accents. Table 9 shows how the styles contrasted. For a full explanation of terms and their meaning, the original thesis should be consulted.

Each style used the overlapping call and response pattern but in different ways as we shall soon take up. From the table, it will immediately be noticed that gospel-singing (and perhaps gospel songs) contain a greater variation in size and of certain kinds of intervals, as perhaps would be expected from modern composition and performance. The repertoire of the jubilee-singers was spirituals and they varied from spiritual-singing in having a higher concentration of minor seconds. Spiritual-singing had a greater degree of pendular thirds. Pendular thirds involve the simple alteration of the tonic and its third as,

TABLE 9
SUMMARY OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN SPIRITUAL-SINGING JUBILEE QUARTET SINGING AND GOSPEL-SINGING AS ANALYZED BY RICKS

	Spiritual	Jubilee	Gospel
Melodic direction of songs (contour)	downward	level	level
Percent			
narrow intervals	-[a]	-	higher
medium intervals	-	-	lower
minor seconds	-	higher	-
major seconds	-	-	higher
major thirds	-	-	less
pendular thirds	higher	-	-
repetitive monotone	-	-	less
Tonal range	-	wider	wider
Vocal ornamental devices	-	more complex	more complex
Harmony	created incidentally by overlapping of lead & chorus	full harmony	full harmony but harmonic phrases are less important as background due to musical instruments
Presence of musical instruments	none	none or at most a guitar or piano	present

---

[a] This notation, "-", means that there is no difference from the norm in that respective area.

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C E C E, in a repetitive pattern. The presence of full harmony in both jubilee- and gospel-singing is also noted. During our subsequent discussion, some of these points will be more fully documented as far as they fall within the scope of this work.

There are many good descriptions of spiritual-singing which convey an idea of its performance framework and sound.[88] One of the best is given below.

> There is no singing in parts, as we understand it, and yet no two appear to be singing the same thing - the leading singer starts the words of each verse, often improvising, and the others, who "base" him, as it is called, strike in with the refrain, or even join in the solo, when the words are familiar. When the "base" begins, the leader often stops, leaving the rest of his words to be guessed at, or it may be they are taken up by one of the other singers. And the "basers" themselves seem to follow their own whims, beginning when they please and leaving off when they please, striking an octave above or below (in case they have pitched the tune too low or too high), or hitting some other note that chords, so as to produce the effect of a marvellous complication and variety, and yet with the most perfect time, and rarely any discord. And what makes it all the harder to unravel a thread of melody out of this strange network is that, like birds, they seem not infrequently to strike sounds that cannot be precisely represented by the gamut, and abound in "slides from one note to another, and turns and cadences not in articulated notes."[89]

From this excellent description, a number of features can be isolated. The leader initiates the song while the others join in during the chorus. Each individual is allowed a great amount of freedom in singing and will merge with the others at his own discretion. The result is one of overlapping parts between the leader and the congrega-

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tion and is jagged in its overall effect. This overlap may be found with four-bar refrains as well as with full eight-bar choruses.

There has been much argument as to the nature of the harmony present in spiritual-singing.[90] In the quote given above, we are made aware of the lack of definite parts and, "...yet no two appear to be singing the same thing..."[91] Johnson refers to this as "unison harmony" to distinguish it from the usual connotation of the word, but indicates that it is still harmony.[92] Waterman has gone to great lengths in pointing out the reasons for our previous notions that harmony was unknown to Africans.[93] Harmony was known on that continent and certainly was to the slaves, at least its rudiments. Why, then, was there a feeling that the performances were lacking in this basic musical form?

This may best be explained, I believe, if one considers that the singing is not in "unison", "unison harmony", or "homophony" (the sounding together of parts); nor that its is made up of several distinct melodies or parts which work together such as would be suggested by polyphony. There is only one melody present which rules out the latter. This one melody, however, is given different rhythmic treatment by each singer. It is significant that in the above quote the "basers", "...seem

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to follow their own whims, beginning when they please and leaving off when they please...". The singers, then, move about the same melody with distinct rhythmic emphases. Spiritual-singing is more typically heterophonic in which one melody is heard but the other parts elaborate relative to it with rhythmic individuality. This is why some have said that the overlapping call and response pattern produces accidental harmony.[94] When the parts overlap, there is always the chance of certain individuals harmonizing perfectly with the leader who sings the melody. It is accidental but if all singers were somehow shifted to the same rhythmic pattern, the sound would be harmonic.

We have spoken of the presence of much ornamentation in lining-out and with black American singing in general. So too with spiritual-singing do we notice a great use of graces and textual variety. The ornamentation as well as alterations in pitch provided enough tinder to have writers describe the tunes of many songs as,

> ...wired and wild - 'barbaric madrigals' - ... The most striking of their barbaric airs it would be impossible to write out...[95]

or, "singing a little wild hymn of sweet and mournful melody".[96] To the ears of eyewitnesses, the melodies did appear odd and undisciplined. And when some attempted to notate the music, they found that,

> the odd turns made in the throat; and that curious rhythmic effect produced by simple voices chiming

> in at different irregular intervals, seem almost as impossible to place on score, as the singing of birds, or the tones of an Aeolian Harp.[97]

Barton had a simple rule to start with in transcribing Afro-American music, "compose it on the black keys of the piano".[98] The problem here is that the slave altered his pitch. A note might be sung somewhat sharp but later, sounded either natural or flat. It drove the ear to confusion. Writers spoke of a,

> ...dramatic melody (with gradations of tone which sharps and flats are inadequate to express, - persistently minor).... Individual voices could be distinguished, modulating themselves to the greater body, some a little sharp, some a little flat; all feeling, as if without knowledge or intent, for that vibrating sense which attests perfect harmony, or... perfect unison; never quite attaining either....[99]

And as indicated in the quote, for a given tone each individual would attack a note differently, adding to the unique sound.

The sound, then, of spiritual-singing, is heterophonic, with great liberties taken in ornamentation and characteristic alterations in pitch which adds a color of melancholia to the songs. If we believe Johnson's calculations, 25% of the spirituals were based on the pentatonic scale (omission of the fourth and seventh notes in the diatonic scale) with most being in the major but a substantial number in the minor mode. Over 40% of the rest were in the full heptatonic scale.[100] Past arguments concerning the actual source of the pentatonic scale -

either being derived from Africa or the Scotch - brings to hand the original fountainhead of the tunes. The white to black and black to white provenience of the melodies has for years sustained a barrage of arguments which have bordered on outright war. Supporters of the first logic have included George Pullen Jackson, Guy Johnson and Newman I. White; for the second, Henry Krebiel, Melville Herskovits and Jeanette Murphy, among others. Writers have chosen the same tune to argue for one origin over another. Scarsborough found a strong parallel between an African tune and Swing Low, Sweet Chariot.[101] At about the same time, Johnson sought to explain the difficulty in tracing melodic sources in black songs by the masking of the melodies through rhythmic changes. He found that when the tempo is ignored, the melodic contours of Swing Low, Sweet Chariot mimics that of the standard hymn, Amazing Grace.[102]

It is difficult to rationalize how the African people, having a marked cultural focus for song, music and dance, side-stepped this inclination in America and relied almost wholly on white melodies for their religious tunes. There are numerous references which demonstrate the persistence of African songs in the United States even into the twentieth century.[103] Based on the evidence presented by George Pullen Jackson and others in which all

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have shown the melodic similarities between white and black spirituals and from which they have concluded a white to black flow, it is possible to conclude that, at least for spirituals, indeed many of the tunes were adopted from whites. But if we are concerned only with similarities in scales, intervals, melodic contours and the like, then we are not really defining the situation in holistic terms. The fact that a given song has similarities to one performed in another culture and therefore may have been derived from that culture tells nothing about the utilization of that song for different purposes, meaning and expression in the adopting culture. Further, its mode of presentation and all the unique culture-specific characteristics of performance added onto these conceptual considerations, makes it a distinct attribute of that culture.

We will take the stand here that any culture which is syncretic becomes eclectic in its view and for reasons which may be determined historically and socially, utilized elements of, in this case, the dominant culture by re-interpreting them. Because the Afro-American culture was a distinct one, it drew upon its own African heritage as well as that of Euro-Americans. The success of this adaptability rests not only in the historical and social circumstances which have been emphasized throughout this thesis, but with the overall similarity between the musics

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of both cultures. This compatibility led Waterman to conclude.

> It is...easy to understand how, to a member of an early American Negro group steeped in the value and behavior patterns of West African musical tradition, the European music...must have appeared mainly as a source of new musical ideas to be marked out in terms of African concepts and tecniques. Almost nothing in European folk music...is incompatible with African musical style, and much of the European material fits readily into the generalized African musical mode.
>
> Thus, in the United States..., folk tunes and hymns stemming from the British Isles were often seized upon by African slaves...and, after suitable remodeling, adopted as American Negro tunes. The remodeling process was one of Africanization....[104]

This process of re-structuring recalls the adoption by African tribes of powerful Gods to their pantheon. In turn, this would add to their vigor and potency as a people. In the Americas, they did the same with Jesus, the bibical heroes and a number of songs. But now the process was called syncretism.

If we are to agree with Waterman's remarks, then there is a chance for an equal adaptation of African music by white Americans. In view of the fact that Jackson could not possibly have analyzed all collections of black spirituals for white traits[105] and that there is evidence from other writers that some spirituals were of African origin,[106] then it could be concluded that a number of the songs were either totally African or composites of the two cultures. According to Jackson, the bulk of white religious ballads, folk hymns and spirituals were adapted from secular tunes. By his own admission, Jackson found it difficult to find whole secular tunes which were parallel to white spirituals.

> The search for kindred secular tunes were most fruitful in the case of the (religious) ballads and somewhat less so for the (folk) hymns. Among the spiritual songs, the search yielded surprisingly meager results. The reason lay probably in the nature of the spiritual-song tunes themselves. These tunes - whatever their source - were often altered through the arbitrary intrusion of refrains and choruses. Among these tunes, therefore, my finding of secular analogies was limited usually to melodic parts instead of whole tunes.[107]

Certainly many of these "parts" were taken from British secular songs but why could not some of the others have been adapted from compatible phrases of Afro-American song? The answer is left to a detailed analysis of the tunes in question.

Whatever the source, the Afro-American used a number of variations of a given tune. On the Sea Islands,

> Mary Had a Baby is sung in three ways, You Better Run in three ways, Wrastlin' Jacob in two, Jacob's Ladder in two, and so on. Of course, this trait is not peculiar to the Sea Islands.[108]

This same account suggests that, "less than a hundred separate motifs have given rise to over five hundred tunes".[109] A "motif" or "tune family" represents tunes which are related as to their contour - the correlation of notes within the measure. This is a spatial relationship in which one considers the rise and fall of notes in the

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bar and is distinct from the scale and melodic progression, the latter being the order of notes which occur in a song.[110] It is well known that Afro-Americans improvized much of their material. Songs were made up on the spot during the sermon[111] and tunes were altered by fitting short-meter melodies to long-measure stanzas.[112] McKim, telling of an interview with a blackman, indicated that songs were made up at church meetings based on experiences of the day and were worked and re-worked.[113] Higginson was told how the songs seemingly took root from little practice. And to demonstrate the theory, the boatmen proceeded to make a new song.[114] To produce such a diversity, the singers must still operate with basic materials such as tune families and stock phrases. But what substantiates this high generation of new songs is the hallmark of African-derived cultures - improversation - the ability to create numerous variations on a theme.

As a final note, we should point out the approach taken to spiritual-singing by the more sophisticated groups. In consideration, are the jubilee singer types which included those from various universities - Fisk, Tuskegee, Hampton, Utica College, etc; the concert soloists such as Paul Robeson, Lawrence Brown, Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson; and such choirs as the Pace Jubilee Singers and the Hall Johnson Choir.[115] Forgetting for

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the moment the existence of the unsophisticated jubilee quartets - they will be discussed under gospel-singing - in order to emphasize the polished types, all of these groups made alterations in the basic pattern of congregational singing. Hurston, Fenner and Seward have discussed these apparent changes. Hurston has bluntly said that, "There never has been a presentation of genuine Negro spirituals to any audience anywhere."[116] She is, of course, referring to the stage.

The first attribute which disappeared with these presentations was the church atmosphere and the congregational approach to singing which included the associated harmonic sounds. Rhythmic impulses from complex hand and foot patterns were dissolved as well as the heavy vocal ornamentation and dialect. The call and response pattern was kept but in the case of soloists, the response may have been taken by the piano. For the most part, jubilee groups and choirs sang a cappella. All of the musicians who operated in this milieu were well-trained in Western technique, phrasing and musicianship, and used comparable arrangements. Singing before well-to-do patrons in theaters, these artists were not about, nor could they, perform in the original style. During those years, the public was not ready for touring bodies of folk artists presenting the real thing, much as is seen today with

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Bessie Jones and Her Sea Island Singers. These groups, then, polished up the harmony, vocalization and rhythmic characteristics of the actual performances which essentially meant Europeanizing the material. Van Vechten, in reviewing the first concert by Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown, commented that the duo attempted to capture as much of the traditional spiritual, "as would be consistent with the atmosphere of the concert hall."[117] He went on to say that Robeson could sing with perfect enunciation and his posture, gestures and volume of voice were under complete control. The "shouting" church never worried about that.

GOSPEL-SINGING

Modern gospel music includes soloists, choirs and small groups-quartets.[118] It is not our purpose here to discuss individuals and groups as far as their history and style is concerned unless it pertains to the overall dynamics in the development of gospel music. Heilbut's book has been written from this point of view and serves as a compliment to our discussion here. His discography is broken into several segments: Female and Male Solo Personalities, Gospel Groups, Choirs and Quartets.[119] The first author to review gospel music on records was D. K. Wilgus who touched upon white as well as black forms.[120] Finally, Evans has written two excellent reviews-essays on black religious music which should be referred to for both recorded source material and stylistic differences.[121] Our concern will rest with the development, in gospel music, of instruments, harmony, rhythm, and vocal and antiphonal patterns from its beginnings to the present day.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of gospel-singing has been the use of musical instruments. They have been dominant in the sanctified church since its inception during the last decade of the nineteenth century, where every type of conceivable contrivance found a place of residence. The presence of instruments does not necessarily define the gospel style, for they were used by the A. M. E. church since the mid-nineteenth century. It is actually a matter of how they were employed. We have described two directions in the black church which were referred to as the, "educated" and "shouting" divisions. During the last century, there was a move, in the "educated" institutions to incorporate instruments into the service. Payne indicated that instrumental music first appeared in the A. M. E. in 1848-1849 and subsequently was used to accompany the choir.[122] At this time, conclaves of the "shouting" church were against their use thinking them sinful. It was only until the Pentecostal church came to the forefront that instruments were totally welcome. Most others resisted their use and even today the primitive Baptists allow only a piano. Certain of these Baptist denominations accepted the piano solely because the youth wanted it. The older members did not.[123]

When gospel music became popular in the church in the 1930s, the piano was the common accompanying instrument. It was not until the forties and fifties that wide use was made of drums, bass, guitar and organ. The sanctified church was always an exception to the rule and was an innovator in using the most diversified kinds of instruments which we have already enumerated. Outside this institution, quartets usually sang a cappella or at most with a guitar or piano. In fact, they were a holdout for the unaccompanied approach well into the fities. Today, full bands that include two to three electric guitars, an organ, piano, drums and tambourines may back small quartet-like groups. At first choirs used just a piano but today, the instrumentation may be similar.

In the "educated" church, instruments were employed as an accompaniment to the choir but the music performed was rather sedate, epitomizing a trained and sophisticated approach. The adoption of instruments by the sanctified church served also to accompany the singing but more importantly, instruments became rhythmic extensions to shouting. They emphasized improversation in contrast to the note-reading musicians of the "educated" church. It was felt that an increased amount of a "shouting sound" would bring the Holy Spirit to the surface quicker. And finally, it was this spirited music which was a direct influence on the performance format of gospel-singing. Mahalia Jackson and others have pointed out the relationship of gospel rhythm to that in the Pentecostal church.[124]

There are two stages to the application of instruments in gospel-singing. The first was their untilization as basically rhythmic and harmonic devices; the second, as another melodic voice. The former is the approach taken by the early sanctified groups and the latter is more reminiscent of today's standards. The instruments we are speaking of do not include trumpets and trombones which are asumed to be melodic, but instead the guitar, piano and organ, etc. In their rhythmic-harmonic function, instruments add another dimension of sound by exaggerating these elements and by serving as a solid foundation for the melodic line. They increase the number of possible shades, making for an interesting variety of tonal-colors. One can picture the diversity inherent in a performance which includes jugs, guitars, tambourines, a harmonica and a washboard. Instead of supplanting handclapping, it becomes re-inforced. But in the case of foot-stamping, its role, in emphasizing the beat and adding variety becomes lessened. All in all, rhythmic invention is shared by the congregation which now acts as one instrument among many.[125]

In modern-day performances, instruments still retain their rhythmic and harmonic functions but now the organ, piano and guitar may act as a melodic voice through embellishment of the song and solos in which their vocalizing becomes manifest. Although there may have been solos by the guitar and harmonica during the earlier period, their utilization in a melodic capacity was always secondary or subservant to their main purpose.

The presence of musical instruments imposes its own restrictions on the music which lies mainly in the meter and tempo of the song. With old spiritual-singing, the singers could shift the rhythm and chime in any way they felt like it. But the instrument structured the way in which the rhythm was placed forcing the singers to follow the instrument instead of their own whims.[126] In another way of thinking, by acting as a foundation or focal point, they were relied on by the singers for the primary beat. Another important facet of instruments is that they, for the most part, were played harmonically. The chordal structure inherent in the piano and organ, for instance, influenced the harmonics of the melody, pulled the singers to an even pitch and restricted the use of individual vocal ornamentation which might upset the harmony. This was not total in its effect but the tendency was certainly there. What does seem to occur is that the singer may raise or lower the tone of a note giving it a slight distortion against the pure tones of the instrument. Spiritual-singers did this as well except that they did not have instruments to "tone" the song. And finally, if there was more than one instrument, they must be coordinated with each other as far as meter and harmonics are concerned, which tended to structure the performance even moreso.

The earliest black gospel singers were members of the various Holiness and Pentecostal (also referred to as, sanctified) sects which began to spring up around the South in the final decade of the nineteenth century. The Church of God in Christ, founded by Charles H. Mason in 1897, is representative of the movement. Believing in "Spirit Baptism" and "shouting", these sects adopted musical instruments as an adjunct in inducing the coming of the Holy Spirit. It is the rhythmic force and general attack of their style which so influenced such gospel artists as Thomas A. Dorsey and Mahalia Jackson. There is a rural to urban continuum among sanctified music which is similar to the analogue which exists between "country"

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and "city" blues. However, those recordings made during the twenties do not demonstrate significant differences between these rural and urban performances. One can say that, for the most part, such city artists as F. W. McGee and D. C. Rice employed trumpets, trombones and tubas which were absent in country recordings; but omitted the characteristic jugs and washboards of country groups. One does find differences in harmony and vocal qualities between the regions in the decades which followed. And the development of the music in the urban environment, at this later date, is what has been popularly accepted and referred to as, "gospel music". But just as the Dixie Hummingbirds of the past three decades have a correlation with the jubilee singers of the twenties, the Clara Ward Singers had theirs in Bessie Johnson's Sanctified Singers of the same period.

The early sanctified groups played religious music which was heavily interlaced with ragtime and blues figures. We have previously argued that instead of stating that gospel music adapted these styles to its purposes, it is better to indicate that these phrasings were part of a common stock in black music at that time. Our reasoning is based on the close connection between the domains of sacred and secular existence. To take the argument further, the guitar phrasings of blues singers and religious street performers, like Blind Willie Johnson, is similar because of a common cultural origin, not one way of life influencing another. The difference between secular and sacred, in black culture, is not a distinction in music or even context, but a peculiar way of ordering and perceiving one's life. It might be acceptable to say that the sacred mode is a certain conceptualization of living which includes, but not exclusively, a "church" as a religious roof. But in actual fact, the church is a focal point for the community of members in dealing with all matters relating to "sacred" and "secular" affairs. But we are getting away from our point at hand.

Over the past few years, a number of sanctified recordings from the twenties have been reissued on lp record labels. These anthologies offer an excellent cross-section of early soloists and small groups who were representative of the period.[127] The former include such religious street singer/evagelists as Blind Willie Johnson, Edward Clayborn and Blind Joe Taggart but the bulk are by blues artists who recorded religious material, such as, Bukka White, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Skip James and Charlie Patton. The evangelists may have performed a number of tasks. Some were street singers who wandered from town to town, playing for passersby and attending revivals. Others may have been preachers as well as the musical director in small churches. One such modern example of the latter is Rev. Louis Overstreet who was recorded in 1962.[128] The guitar accompaniment used by these religious artists is indistinguishable from blues renditions. Their repertoire is mostly of early gospel material written by the artists themselves, re-adapted white gospel hymns and re-worked spirituals. Washington Phillips was unique among evangelists, using a dulceola - hammer dulcimer - instead of a guitar.[129] The light texture of the instrument adds a particular sweetness to Phillips' singing approach. He recorded Tindley's Take Your Burden to the Lord and some of his own tunes, most of which emphasized his personal beliefs in educating the soul.

The recordings of the groups, varying in size from two to eight singers, give a good idea of how the music sounded in the church. It is not known whether the singers actually traveled from church to church as organized units or whether they were specially formed for the recording studio. They probably traveled on a local basis to revivals and conventions but it was not of the nature of big business as it is today. Organized, nationally-known groups did not reach prominence until the late thirties and forties. In the twenties, a significant number of recordings were made of contingents from congregations such as Rev. F. W. McGee and D. C. Rice.

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Although the instrumentation on these recordings differ, the one common denominator is the guitar, which forms a steady beat and essentially binds the performance together. At times, in the more countrified recordings, the guitarist, in an attempt at altering the rhythmic line, will strike the sound box with his hand. Emphasis of the weak beat in the measure is left to the washboard, tambourine, drum and hand-clapping. The jug plays all four beats in the measure but through its natural resonation it is able to slide up to and hold notes. Foot-stamping, if present, is inaudible. Its lack is impressive when compared to recordings of spiritual-singing where it is relied upon for accentuation of the strong beat and rhythmic variety during the shout. Trumpets and trombones, if present, may harmonize with the melody and consistently help to underline the beat.[130] For the most part, the songs are played up-tempo and in duple meter. There are some examples in triple time, notably two by Rev. F. W. McGee, Jesus the Lord Is a Saviour and Sin Is to Blame for It All.

The rhythm in early sanctified is of a highly syncopated, danceable nature, reminiscent of ragtime. Although spiritual-singing is also syncopated, it does not carry with it as much "swing" to have been annointed by some as "jump-up" music.[131] Part of this is due to the slower tempo with which the spirituals were sung and also to the presence of musical instruments. When a spiritual is sung, at its normally-paced tempo (non-shout), the foot strikes the strong beat and the hand the weak beat, organizing a steady rhythm. The voices tend to play with these up and down beats by further sub-dividing the melodic rhythm with accents which fall around the basic pulse. The totality of this interplay is the syncopated effect which we have referred to as "offbeat phrasing of melodic accents". In actuality, this is the essence of ragtime where a basic march rhythm is played against by the voices. For the piano, this would mean the left and right hand, respectively. Sanctified music employs this same pattern as is found in spiritual-singing, but exploits it as does classic ragtime. This is accomplished through the force, versatility and improvizing potential of musical instruments. With the jug, drums, washboard, and tambourine, the weak beat can be overtly emphasized. Due to the peculiar tonal quality and construction of the instruments, the musician is able to produce diverse sounds. One can concoct a rhythmic "roll" on the washboard by running a sharp object up and down the board. The resonance quality of the jug gives it an ability to sustain notes and bend them just like the voice. When used for rhythmic support, it can add more swing by playing around the beat. The tambourine may be struck in mimicing a hand-clap but the jingles (metal discs) on its body add another sound dimension through shaking. The possible sounds and resonating potential from hand-clapping and foot-stamping are obviously limited. The sound effects derived from instruments allow amplification and reverberation of tones which in turn gives a freer motion to the pulse due to the ability to sweep about the basic rhythmic pattern. This is the essence of improversation - playing with the dynamics of rhythm and melody. Now the singers can "swing" over the rhythm perhaps because they do not have to worry about its formation.

Despite the fact that many recordings do not include a piano, I believe that the music is conceived along pianistic concepts, as in classic ragtime. The piano has the ability to play the normal beats with the left hand and vary the melodic accents with the right. It does essentially what the entire group can do. When the two are combined, the result is overpowering. A good pianist who can "rag" the left hand, using the note-chord scheme of classic ragtime or add a boodie-woogie or walking blues bass, can accentuate the hand-clapping and other instrumentation. By being able to play numerous figures, trills and runs in the right hand, he is able to sub-divide the vocal line even further than is possible with the voice.

Two of the best pianists who recorded during the twenties were Elder Beck and Arizona Dranes.[132] The mark of the gospel piano style at that time was a ragged boogie woogie left hand dominated by the use of repetitive figures, played by the right hand in double or triple time.

Early sanctified music tended to be sung heterophonically as is spiritual-singing but there are examples which may be more suggestive of true harmony. Perhaps this is due to the harmonizing effect of the instruments. The addition of trumpets and trombones does not, for the most part, add an independent melodic line (polyphony) as would be found in jazz. Instead, they are played in harmony or heterophonically with the voices.

The foregoing discussion on early gospel music serves as a foundation for our discussion of its later development. Generally speaking, there are three areas in which we note change: the rhythm, vocalization patterns and harmony. The rhythm became less confining than in the twenties where, for the most part, the instruments all played the basic beat. A closer look at the dynamics of the piano from the twenties versus that in modern gospel, will give us a better perspective. In early sanctified, the piano was apt to follow the rhythmic line very closely, although it did fill-in between notes with its own figures. The left hand marked out a firm four-four rhythm with a

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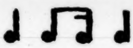
walking or note-chord bass which gave a ragged effect when heard against the right hand which played fast repetitive figures. It was a confining pulse. With modern piano, the left hand did not limit itself to this four-square rhythm but worked around it. More concentration was placed on harmonizing with the melody instead of four even beats. To be sure, the left hand did follow a blues or boogie-woogie pattern but it was a broken one, i.e., it was not of a set monotonous design. An example of this restructuring is the following figure,  , which was employed by some in numerous variations and combinations. The tendency was to allow the piano more freedom in melodic development. The left worked with the right in this area and essentially left the statement of the rhythm to the drums, guitar, tambourine and hand-clapping. In a manner of speaking, the basic rhythmic pulse was more implied than anything else.

As the rhythm became less restrictive, it was possible to add complex vocal embellishments. In older singing styles, it almost seemed as if a song had to be sung measure by measure. The rhythm was in a solid duple meter which was strongly felt by the singer. One moved with it and even though you could push or drag the beat, there were limitations. But with a rhythm that tended to be relatively loose and informal, the voice was able to experiment.

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The key point is that as previous rhythm instruments became melodic, they helped the voice by adding harmony and accompanying melodic passages. The strict formal rhythm was heard in the mind not in the room. The net result was a greater use of vocal range and dynamics, holding of notes over several beats and swirling from high to low octaves. The voice became dramatic with its use of soft tones blending into a shrill vibrato or cry which heightened the intensity of the performance. The cry was in addition to the falsetto common to Afro-American performances in general. It became, in its most shouting, reverberant state, part and parcel of the stylings of modern soul singers. Claude Jeter of the Swan Silvertones and Julius Cheeks of the Sensational Nightingales were the most influential in this regard.

Another vocalism was "melisma" which Tallmadge suggests as being an outgrowth of the practice of lining-out.[133] This device was used to some extent by spiritual-singers. It seems to have been formalized to a greater extent by modern gospel artists as part of their performance style. It can be heard in contemporary renditions of Watts hymns as well as in the slower, ballad-like songs. One has only to listen to the Dixie Hummingbirds' version of Move On Up a Little Higher or the Soul Stirrers' Any Day Now to see the relationship.

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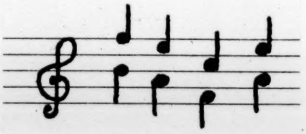
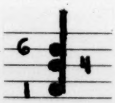
Freedom in rhythm and melody in modern gospel was interconnected with current innovations in jazz and blues. Movement was away from the confining 2/4 rhythm. This allowed the melodic line more liberty in improversation. The early sanctified guitar of Blind Willie Johnson, with its country blues flavor, gave way to the rocking boogie-woogie mannerisms and note bending of Sister Rosetta Tharpe. And similarly, the ragtime-blues piano stylings of Elder Beck and Arizona Dranes made way for the jazz-blues phrasings of Thomas A. Dorsey. For Dorsey and Tharpe, the concept was more urban and sophisticated in nature, both in the harmonics and rhythm. Mention should also be made of a new structural song type which consisted of an alternating lead and chorus of sixteen bars each. Spirituals, for the most part, were composed of eight bars per section. Thus, more leeway was offered for improversation and construction in the melodic line.

The harmony was more attune to Western concepts. This was not necessarily the case with early sanctified or in spiritual-singing where the tendency was toward heterophony. However, there still existed appogiaturas (accented non-harmonized tones) and certain auxiliary notes, when added to a melismatic series, were non-harmonic. The one thing which impressed Kirby about early quartet singing and which seems to have been continued to the present time, was "parallelism", i.e., the movement of parts at distinct intervals.[134] The author considers that the use of parallelism, in the manner he discusses, is African not European-derived. Schematically, in parallel fifths,



Ricks suggests other progressions and constructions which are typical of gospel-singing: six-four chords in a series (the presence of both the fourth and sixth interval notes in the chord, such as ), incomplete chords and supertonic harmony (supertonic is the second degree of the scale just above the tonic).[135]

The overall structural form of black American religious folksong is the overlapping call and response pattern where a statement by the leader is not clearly demarcated but is vague in that it encroaches on the choral response. And the reverse also occurs. This is basic to all song categories. Hoever, there is an important variation which distinguishes spiritual-singing from modern gospel performances. In gospel, one finds the presence of short-phrased choral responses which have the

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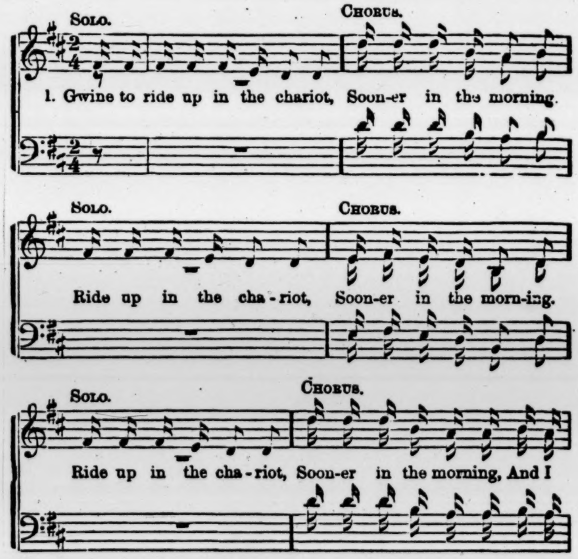
same verse content and are in rhythmic but not melodic imitation of the lead. These have been variously termed by authors as "answer effects or interjections" (Downey), "echo" effects (Gold), "antiphonal" and "responsorial" phrases (Tallmadge).[136] Spiritual-singing relies on either long or short measures in the response which have different verse content than the lead. It may be of interest that early sanctified is more typical of spiritual-singing in this regard, although there are a few exceptions. *Gwine to Ride Up in the Chariot* (Ex. No. 2) shows the alternation pattern in a spiritual. Both the

EX. NO. 2: GWINE TO RIDE UP IN THE CHARIOT (TRADITIONAL)
in, J.B.T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers*


Solo.
Chorus.
1. Gwine to ride up in the chariot, Soon-er in the morning.
Solo.
Chorus.
Ride up in the cha-riot, Soon-er in the morn-ing.
Solo.
Chorus.
Ride up in the cha-riot, Soon-er in the morning, And I

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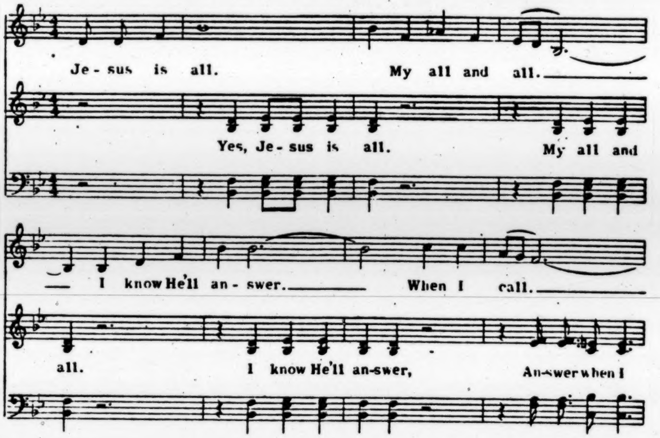
lead and the chorus are of short duration, not exceeding one measure in length. Notice that the verse content is different as well as the melody, although they are rhythmically the same. Long lead and response phrases may be from four to eight bars in length.

Ricks transcribed a spiritual which contained short one-bar alternations having the same verse content and which is very close in rhythmic imitation.[137] However, the responsorial interjections which we are speaking of are more characteristically found in gospel-singing and may be shorter in duration, occupying less than a full measure. It is true that in shout-songs, one is able to find very brief responses but these do not have the same verse content and may not be rhythmically imitative.[138]

The short responsorial interjections were commonplace in white gospel music of the nineteenth century and seem to have been used to a small degree by the jubilee quartets such as Fisk.[139] In black gospel today, the practice is quite common. Jesus Is All (Ex. No. 3) demonstrates this style. Note that when a long tone is reached by the lead, the chorus fills in with a repetition of the verse. Another example shows how the device may be used with a great amount of overlap. The chorus takes the word that ends on the long tone of the lead, shortens it and adds the word to a phrase that occurs a couple of beats later but

EX. NO. 3: JESUS IS ALL

by, Rev. W. Herbert Brewster (1949), in
Bowles Favorite Convention Herald, No. 26,
published by Bowles Music House


Je - sus is all. My all and all.
Yes, Je - sus is all. My all and
I know He'll an - swer. When I call.
all. I know He'll an-swer, An-swer when I

which is in rhythmic imitation. In, I've Heard of a City Called Heaven (Ex. No. 4), notice how the word "heard" is handled by the chorus. Instead of echoing "of a home", the response is "heard of a home", etc. There are other variations. The net effect of these short responses may be in the addition of a subordinate melody, harmony in the overlapping parts, and a rhythmic sweep which influences the song's total movement. When the phrases are particularly short-clipped, the rhythmic tendency can become quite syncopated and effective.

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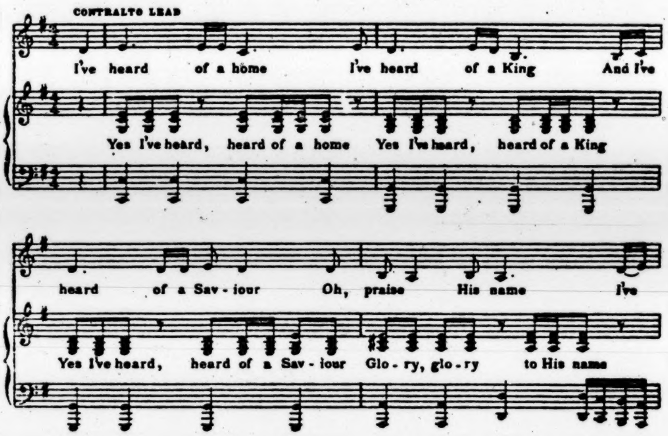
EX. NO. 4: I'VE HEARD OF A CITY CALLED HEAVEN
by Emma L. Jackson (1943), in
Bowles Favorite Convention Herald, No. 26,
published by Bowles Music House


CONTRALTO LEAD
I've heard of a home I've heard of a King And I've
Yes I've heard, heard of a home Yes I've heard, heard of a King
heard of a Sav-iour Oh, praise His name I've
Yes I've heard, heard of a Sav-iour Glo-ry, glo-ry to His name

Another type of response is the repetition of the same verse phrase over and over, using also the same rhythmic motion. Hoever, both the wording and the rhythm are differenct than that in the lead. Words may be sung or the melody simply hummed. They may harmonize completely with the lead, as in, Oh, When I Git t'Heaben (Ex. No. 5), using the phrase "tell it". Or, the verse may be expressed as a response with some overlap, as in, Lord, in the New Jerusalem (Ex. No. 6). This form is most representative of quartet-singing in the thirties and forties but has

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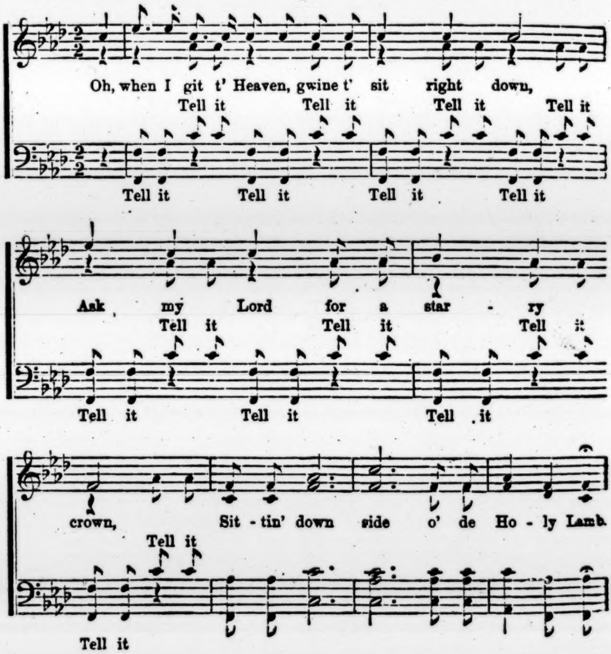
EX. NO. 5: OH, WHEN I GIT t'HEABEN (TRADITIONAL)
in, Religious Folk Songs of the Negro as Sung by
the Hampton Students


Oh, when I git t' Heaven, gwine t' sit right down,
Tell it Tell it Tell it Tell it
Tell it Tell it Tell it Tell it
Ask my Lord for a star - ry
Tell it Tell it Tell it
Tell it Tell it Tell it
crown, Sit - tin' down side o' de Ho - ly Lamb.
Tell it
Tell it

continued to be employed in modern gospel music. It adds effectively to the underlying harmony and lends a "locomotive" or "riff" type of rhythm to the song. Ricks discusses this in relationship to the style of the jubilee singers, as being a "contrasting" section to an "identifying" part.[140] The latter has fixed rhythm and melody whereas the lead in the former improvises over a steady

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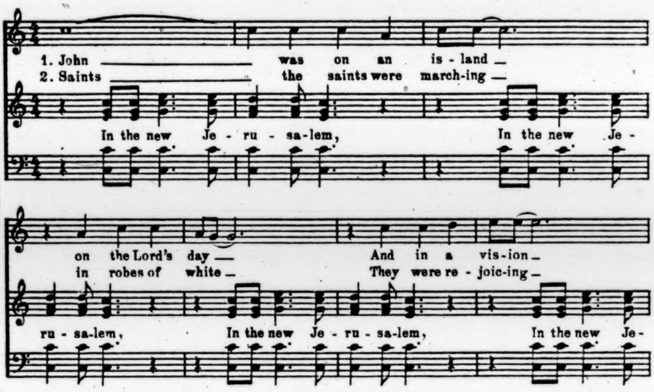
EX. NO. 6: LORD, IN THE NEW JERUSALEM
by Raymond Rasberry (1959),
published by Martin and Morris Music, Inc.


1. John ___ was on an is - land ___
2. Saints ___ the saints were march-ing ___
In the new Je - ru - sa-lem, In the new Je -
on the Lord's day ___ And in a vis-ion ___
in robes of white ___ They were re - joic-ing ___
ru - sa-lem, In the new Je - ru - sa-lem, In the new Je -

and repetitive choral response in the manner discussed above. The lead, in fact, may tend to preach or testify against the riff background somewhat in the fashion of a minister delivering his sermon in a fast, punctuated manner.

In an effort to offer a concrete realization of the development of rhythm, vocalization, harmony, and the form of antiphonal response in gospel music, it may be of benefit to describe the growth of a particular segment, the quartet. The birth of the gospel quartet must commence with the Fisk Jubilee Singers whose highly sophisticated renditions of spirituals spawned several

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generations of both polished and untrained singing groups.[141] The Fisk Singers have been placed with spiritual-singing due to the fact that their main intention was to produce the songs of the slaves but for a concert atmosphere. Later, the quartet became a specific structural unit for singing religious material. The jubilee singers of the twenties did not intend to sing arrangements of spirituals as conceived by the slaves but attempted to develop their own style of presentation.

Our interest rests with the untrained types as they were the immediate predacessors of what became formally known as the gospel quartet in the 1940s. Throughout the twenties and thirties, these jubilee quartets flourished. Some, like the Norfolk Jubilee Quartet recorded profusely and were well-known. The quartet, during these early years, usually had four to five members. Today, groups consisting of eight or so performers are conventional. Quartets are commonly composed of male singers but there are female examples. For instance, the Virginia Female Jubilee Singers normally sang a cappella but at times added a guitar or, more rarely, a piano. This pattern was kept well into the fifties but presently it is commonplace to see modern quartets backed by drums, organ or piano, guitars and tambourines. Only those present-day gospel groups which maintain an older style, entertain without accompaniment.

A quartet is a vocal group whose basic organization may be considered to be "interlocking", where there are, "two or more parts which are rhymically distinct and melodically complimentary...there is a high degree of co-ordination between the parts."[142] Within this structure, there may occur several textures of musical arrangement from homophony to heterophony to polyphony which all may be heard in one performance. Being composed of distinct parts, a voice may move away from the lead to set up an overlapping antiphonal response. The action of several parts doing this at one time, going their own separate ways with distinct melodies, gives a sense of polyphony. At times this may occur with only one voice where the result is, more or less, heterophonic rather than polyphonic. Thus, the presence of antiphony in quartet singing where several distinct parts are present - lead, tenor, baritone, and base, in different combinations - allows for the presence of these textures. This is not to say that these effects can not be found elsewhere but the net result is analagous to the relationship of a small dixieland band to an orchestra where the quartet would be compared to a choir. The elaboration of heterophony, polyphony, harmony and antiphony itself becomes increasingly complicated as we move through the various stages of development. In actual fact, this is a problem which is better resolved by listening to the recordings rather than the reading of descriptive terminology. In our description which follows, there is a great amount of overlap between the stages. Some of the groups which may sound quite modern have been together for over twenty-five years and are not sudden up-starts but have developed accordingly over the years.

The earliest form of gospel quartet singing is represented by such affiliations as the Norfolk Jubilee Quartet, Birmingham Jubilee Singers, Mitchell's Christian Singers and the onscure Bright Light Quartet, recorded by Lomax in 1960.[143] The harmony is of a relatively simple nature in all these groups. The bass has matured distinctively as an important part in contrast to its use by the earlier Fisk Singers. Parallelism (see above) is predominant and the voices tend to double the parts, i.e., two will sing the melody at different octaves. The general tendency is to follow the outlines of a simple leader-chorus alternation but which can become complicated by a heavy interplay of parts to produce polyphony. At times one does find the presence of antiphonal section work and the use of a repetitive verse phrase underlying the lead, as discussed previously. But in each of these cases, the results are not too advanced. For instance, the riffing effect of repetitive phrases may not be continued against the lead but only occurs when the lead ceases to sing. The latter does not perform in the shouting mannerism of a "soul" singer.

The second devlopment is best represented by such groups as the Selah Jubilee Singers, Fairfield Four, Golden Gate Quartet, Southern Sons, Alphabetical Four, Silver Leaf Quartet and scores of others, mostly from the thirties.[144] The main feature of these groups, other than a definite advance in overall harmony, is the development of a distinct repetitive series of hummed figures or words as a support to the improvising potential of the lead. This is what we have indicated above as a riffing background. The lead does not approach a "soul" sound.

The next stage is suggested in the stylings of perhaps the best known quartets - the Dixie Hummingbirds, Sensational Nightingales, Soul Stirrers, Pilgrim Travelers, Swan Silvertones, The Spirit of Memphis and The Five Blind Boys of Alabama, in which the voice approaches a sonorous cry as if in agonizing pain.[145] Harmony is well-developed and perhaps has reached its zenith in the recordings of the Dixie Hummingbirds. The first two stages relied heavily on spirituals but these groups used spirituals, modern gospel tunes and Watts hymns. These groups employ the repetitive riffing backdrop but now one commonly finds an antiphonal response which has the same verse content

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and rhythmic motion of the lead. The Watts songs were performed at a slow, surge-like tempo which afforded much use of melisma and the shouting cry. The lead singer, over the support of his group, tended to develop the melodic line with greater and greater use of heavy vibrato until the voice dwelled on a long note, in a sonorous, high-pitched scream. Another development was the use of "doo-wah" vocal backings which influenced rock and roll singers.[146]

The final expansion takes the third stage a short step further. Groups like the Mighty Clouds of Joy, Violinaires, Salem Travelers and Gospelaires now rely heavily on drums, organ or piano and guitars.[147] The harmony and rhythm of "soul" music is foremost in many of these groups, such as with the Violinaires. The shouting cry is also prominent. The lead, now more than before, will tend to emphatically preach and testify as he soars wildly, reaching high-pitched tones with a shouting growl. The rest of the group may back him with repetitive rhythmic figures or sing a harmonica counter-lead, either with words or humming. By doing so, the lead almost becomes a separate entity as he independently moves by himself around and against the others. The rest of the singers seemingly appear as one of the instruments. The Mighty Clouds of Joy are quite adept at this. However, despite their soul-like vocals, the instrumentation does not play

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in the style of popular "soul" music such as with the Violinaires and the Salem Travelers.

Another manner in which to discern change in gospel music since the 1920s-1930s is through a description of performance strategies. Since the 1940s, gospel music has become big business and this factor perhaps more than any other has influenced performance techniques. With the war came the demise of the depression. Money became available and with affluence came an increase in purchasing power, high volume record sales and billboard top seller lists. Many current artists are big name stars who are the subject of numerous articles, fan clubs, recording contracts and large-scale concerts. Gospel has its own magazines, trade journals, national radio programs, press agents and special fans who sit during a concert ranting and raving for their idols.

By leaving the context of a church, dressing up in fine clothes and stylizing a particular performance pattern, many performers are not appreciated by the church. Although gospel concerts are opened with prayers and amens, many think they lack the proper atmosphere with their attempts at selling photos of the musicians, souvenir albums, hit records and food. The Bishop in a sanctified church in Philadelphia claimed that she did not like these concerts because of their commercial nature.[148] She felt

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that commercialism crept in around 1960. Before that there was more of a church atmosphere. She considered that many of the persons attending these concerts were not true believers or church-goers. Many others dislike the calisthenics of the small male groups with their pealing of jackets and ties.[149] For this reason, choirs have become more popular and are more acceptable in a church.

The presence of wild body movements which eventually became a stock technique of "soul" singers goes back to the early 1940s. Ira Tucker, of the Dixie Hummingbirds, claimed that he was the first to run up the aisles and land on his knees in a praying gesture.[150] He also anticipated the anguish and frenzy of the soul singers by jumping off the stage in 1944. Hobson pointed out that Julius Cheeks, of the Sensational Nightingales, was also influential with his frantic hollering as he ran the length of a church aisle.[151] Dorothy Love supposedly ingrained the tactic of skipping down the aisle while contorting the body in anguish. Along with these postures came the shouting cry which we have discussed above.

Despite certain negative attitudes, the gospel singer's life is rough and reminiscent of the pressures of one-night stands, crooked agents and poor pay. They are professionals and although some dislike the connotation that they are putting on a "show", this is essentially what they do. At concerts, it is the dramatic quality of the performers who promote "emotionalism" and shouting in the audience. Through various stylistic effects dealing with body movements, vocalizations, gestures and the disarrangement of clothing, they contend to elicit this sought after behavior which is a mark of a successful concert. They, in turn, are the directors of this response for they act out and exaggerate what the audience feels and which almost by sympathy will react to. The reaction is constructed upon the accumulated effort of all performing groups and as the concert progresses, the audience becomes warmer and more open.

There are a number of vocal attributes which appear to generate the most activity in the audience. These are employed by all modern groups, soloists and choirs. While attending a concert, it struck me that the audience was sensitive to a type of "clenching" harmony. This may best be described when the singers harmonize a musical phrase at wide intervals but suddenly reverse themselves and end the phrase in a very tight or "clenched" harmonization at a narrow interval and perhaps around a "blue" note. They, in fact, may slur up or down, as the case may be, to this note. The high falsetto is particularly effective when it descends and slurs into a "blue" tone. A third factor is the shouting "soul growl" where the voice is highly strain-

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ed.

These vocal qualities become important characteristics of the singer's style and their perfection is demonstrative of "a good singer". When a seven-year old lead singer tried his hand at "cries" and "slurs", his efforts were met with much approval. They were surprised at the youngster's ability to "do it". He could not bring off the proper response due to his age and lack of experience but indeed he was learning his art. One tends to think that the elicitation of "emotionalism" at these concerts is acquired behavior where-in the lead masters the proper vocal patterns and body positions to touch the audience. The youngster, then, was procuring the characteristics of his trade. Performance of singing groups has become highly stylized and formualized along set standards.

In the church, the singing is not acted out by the choir in such a stylized manner. The vocal qualities are, for the most part, still present. Attention shifts from the lead singer to the minister who is now responsible for the success and direction of the service. The choir now becomes subservant to him who, through a combination of preaching-music-prayer, causes shouting responses in the audience. In the concert, the audience watches the lead singer and if his performance meets their needs, he will be met with approval.

During a gospel concert given on December 7, 1973, at a church in Philadelphia, among several modern quartets and a choir, one quartet group was definitely of an older style. A comparison of these singers with the younger quartets offers a look at gross changes in performance habits through the years. Essentially, the contrast is between the 1920s-1930s and the 1960s-1970s.

The Radio Gospel Kings, of Philadelphia, consist of six males ranging in age from the late forties to the sixties who perform without accompaniment. They approached the stage in black suits with light blue ties, certainly less outlandish than the more modern quartets. Instead of asking the audience for its prayers and amens like the other groups, they simply indicated that they were glad to be there and introduced their songs by title. Their repertoire was also of an older vintage: There Will Be a Jubilee, Dry Bones and Clean Up, Sweep Up.

Their leader began each song by slapping the sides of his legs to set the time. The rest followed with handclapping. Except for the feet, this was essentially the only rhythm. No large attempt was made at inducing the audience to shout as the younger groups had tried to do nor run up the aisles and loosen their clothing. They stayed mainly around the microphone. Of course, they were older men who would have physically found it difficult to do so but I think that this was not their intention. The audience responded with laughter and applause at their tongue in cheek humor and presentation. This was not in ridicule but in appreciation. Their vocal quality was similar to the first two stages in quartet development described above.

Clean Up, Sweep Up was introduced with a great deal of humor aimed at the housewife who spends Sunday in the church then cleans up the house during the week. The idea seemed to be that she should clean and sweep up her sins just as she does her house. The song was dramaticized in a manner quite unlike any of the other groups on the bill. The heaviest-set member made motions as if he was sweeping the stage when the others sang, "clean up, sweep up". At times, the group shook their fingers at him in warning while he gestured in defence of himself. They then moved down the aisle, picking out certain women to point their fingers at, while they sang, "clean up, sweep up". The dramatics in no way approximated the emotional approach of the younger quartets. On this bill, it is interesting to note that the Radio Gospel Kings performed after the choir and the youngest and lesser quartets but prior to the final two which were the headliners.

The younger, more modern quartets ranged in age from the teens to the twenties and thirties. They were generally dressed quite well in attractive, stylish colors. One, The Mighty Clouds, came on with light blue suits, white bow ties and shoes. Each of these groups - there were five on the bill - indicated that they were glad to be there and asked for prayers and amens. Some preached and testified about how God had brought them through sickness and trials. Between selections, the leader would again preach and give prayers. The first tune performed may have been their theme and acted as a warm-up. The last was an all-out effort to elicit a response in the audience. It centered on the leader who employed all possible vocal embellishments with jumping up and down to bring on the Holy Ghost. While the leader moved - at times skipping, sometimes slowly as if burdened - down the aisle, shouting and groaning, he was followed by a companion who held up the mike cord. The companion watched and took care of the singer. If the singer was about to fall out, the helper would grab him or place his hand on his shoulder. The rest of the singers would stand about the mike "basing" or responding to the leader. Among this group would be a second lead whose job it was to substitute for the main lead who by this time was completely taken with shouting and the repetition of phrases over and over again. This segment may have gone on for well over fifteen minutes. The lead for the Mighty Clouds could not be controlled as

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he kept returning from off-stage.

The audience would join in appropriately and some "fell out". At times the leader would notice someone nearing the brink of ecstasy. He would rush over; perhaps touch hands. The leader of each group, during the "shouting" segments, was always in some degree of emotional fervor - contorting the face in anguish, kneeling, jumping, loosening the tie and undoing a button of the shirt - all supposed indicators of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Apparently, this was a more active approach to initiate "emotionalism" than that attempted by the Radio Gospel Kings. The vocal embellishment of these younger groups was also different, reminiscent of the final two stages in quartet development discussed above.

SACRED HARP SINGING

Although there appears to be a rich tradition of black sacred harp singing, there is only one currently available recording.[152] This is by the Middle Georgia Singing Convention No. 1 which recorded six tunes in Atlanta on December 10th., 1930. The sacred harp singers were active at conventions and singing schools and the music was used as well in both black and white churches.[153] The number of participants in the singing group may have been anywhere from ten and up. Lomax recorded the white

Alabama Sacred Harp Singers with around forty persons.[154] Oddly enough, the Middle Georgia Convention used only four members, each representing one of the four parts. Singing for these groups may be a cappella or with an organ.

The general format of performance is similar for both white and black conclaves. The tune title is stated by the leader who then "tones" the song to set the proper pitch. The singers then proceed to sing the notes in a fa-so-la manner. Following a few verses of singing in syllables, they repeat everything with the words of the text. Both four and seven shape notes may be rendered in this way. The Middle Georgia Convention used the latter form. Overall their style is similar to white performances but it does sound a little stiffer than comparable examples by the Alabama Sacred Harp Singers.

Sacred harp music is sectioned into segments of measures or phrases of verse which terminate on a long tone. Also each section may begin on such a tone. The song then resumes and continues until it reaches the end of another segment where again it will repose. The rhythm is generally confined to an even four beats per measure but is broken up by eighth notes. The effect is like a surging motion and may be compared to a morse-code signal. In the example below, note the balance of long tones (at "x") and relative conformity of the beat.

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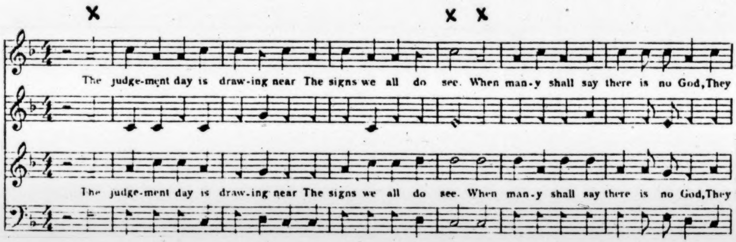
EX. NO. 7: THE SIGNS OF THE JUDGEMENT (TRADITIONAL)
in, J. Jackson, The Colored Sacred Harp


X
X X
The judge-ment day is draw-ing near The signs we all do see. When man-y shall say there is no God, They
The judge-ment day is draw-ing near The signs we all do see. When man-y shall say there is no God, They

Although printed music shows few variations from the rigid meter, in actual practice, the singers add grace notes consisting of slides, tremolo and passing notes. The bass of the Middle Georgia Convention sticks closely to the main beat but does slide and break up the monotony. What keeps their performance moving along evenly is an overlapping antiphonal response which has the same verse and rhythm of the lead but is melodically distinct (like in gospel-singing). This overlap generates motion in the singing, pushing the whole exercise to a conclusion. Their sound is very reminiscent of a calliope.

An extension of this alternation in parts is where, in a consecutive series, the base sings the lead for a measure, then returns to its own part while another voice

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sings the same exact verse and so on. This was a technique employed by Billings in his fuguing tunes.[155] The Middle Georgia Convention uses this but it is not well developed. On the same album, the Alabama Sacred Harp Singers (Present Joys) give a fair idea of its sound.

NOTES

[1] Ricard A. Waterman, "African Influences on the Music of the Americas", in Acculturation in the Americas, ed. by Sol Tax (N. Y.: Cooper Square, 1967; 1952), pp. 207-218. See also, ________, "'Hot' Rhythm in Negro Music", J. of the American Musicological Society, 1 (1948), 24-37; Alan Lomax, "Africanisms in the New World", in Papers of the Conference on Research and Resources of Haiti, Research Institute for the Study of Man (N. Y.: Columbia University, 1969); ________, Folk Song Style and Culture (Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968); Herskovits, Myth of Negro Past, pp. 265-269.

[2] Pearl Primus, "Primitive African Dance: and Its Influence on the Churches of the South", in The Dance Encyclopedia, ed. by Anatole Chujoy (N. Y.: A. S. Barnes, 1949), pp. 387-389.

[3] N. Herbemont, "On the Moral Discipline and Treatment of Slaves", Southern Agriculturist, 9 (1836), 70-75.

[4] Courlander, Negro Folk Music, pp. 20-21.

[5] As quoted in Chase, America's Music, p. 31.

[6] Nehemiah Adams, A Southside View Of Slavery (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1854), p. 54; Botume, First Days With Contrbands, p. 74; John Mason Brown, "Songs of the Slave", Lippincott's Magazine, 9 (1868), 618; John George Clinkscales, On the Old Plantation (Spartanburg, S. C.: Band & White, 1916), p. 46; Belle Kearney, A Slaveholder's Daughter (N. Y.: Abbey Press, 1900), p. 57; Gertrude P. Kurath, "Rhapsodies of Salvation: Negro Responsory Hymns", Southern Folklore Quarterly, 20 (1956), 178; Pierson, In the Brush, p. 283.

[7] Susan Markey Fickling, "Slave Conversion in South Carolina 1830-60", Bulletin of the University of South Carolina, No. 146 (1924), 21.

[8] T. J. Woofter, Black Yeomanry (N. Y.: Henry Holt, 1930), pp. 56-57.

[9] See, for example, Ferris, "Rose Hill Service".

[10] Murphy, "True Negro Music", p. 1730.

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[11] Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto", p. 195; Kurath, "Rhapsodies of Salvation", p. 178.

[12] Kilham, "Sketches in Color", p. 309.

[13] Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals, pp. 252-253.

[14] William H. Tallmadge, "Dr. Watts and Mahalia Jackson", Ethnomusicology, 5 (1961), 97.

[15] Woofter, Black Yeomanry, p. 56.

[16] Tallmadge, "Dr. Watts", p. 99.

[17] Rev. R. C. Crenshaw, I Love the Lord, in "Southern Folk Heritage Series: Negro Church Music", ed. by Alan Lomax, Atlantic 1351; Deacon L. Shinault, Lord, I Come to Thee and I Can Not Live in Sin, in Negro Religious Music, Vol. 3, "Singing Preachers and Their Congregations", Blues Classics 19.

[18] Frederic Ramsey, Jr., comp., "Music from the South, Vol. 6: Elder Songsters, 1", Folkways FP 2655; ________, "Music from the South, Vol. 7: Elder Songsters, 2", Folkways FP 2656.

[19] Willis Laurence James, "The Romance of the Negro Folk Cry in America", Phylon, 16 (1955), 19; Stearns, Story of Jazz, p. 97.

[20] Barton, "Recent Negro Melodies", pp. 707-713.

[21] ibid., p. 713.

[22] Gordon, "Negro Chants", p. 11.

[23] Pierce, "Negroes at Port Royal", p. 31; Portia Smiley, "The Foot Wash in Alabama", Southern Workman, 25 (1896), 101-102; Robert W. Gordon, "Folk Songs of America: Negro Shouts", New York Times Magazine (April 24, 1927), 4; Bremer, Homes of New World, Vol. I, p. 311.

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[25] Gordon, "Negro Shouts," p. 11.

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[30] Portia Smiley, "Folk-lore from Virginia, etc.", *J. of American Folklore*, 32 (1919), 378.

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[32] Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949), p. 202.

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[34] Christensen, "Spirituals and 'Shouts'", p. 155.

[35] *The Nation*, 4 (1867), 433.

[36] Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto", pp. 196-197.

[37] Parrish, *Slave Songs*, pp. 55-56.

[38] Gordon, "Negro Shouts", pp. 4, 11.

[39] Smiley, "Folk-lore from Virginia", p. 378.

[40] Frederic M. Davenport, "The Religion of the American Negro", *Contemporary Review*, 88 (1905), 373-374.

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[42] Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America*, Vol. I (N. Y.: Harper, 1849), p. 270.

[43] Elizabeth Ware Pearson, ed., *Letters from Port Royal: 1862-1868* (N. Y.: Arno Press, 1969; 1906), pp.26-27

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[44] Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, p. 253.

[45] Bremer, *Homes of New World*, Vol. I, p. 311.

[46] Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, p. xv; Marcel, "The Negro Dialect", *The Nation*, 1 (1865), 745.

[47] Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands", p. 593.

[48] Gordon, "Negro Shouts"; Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*; Marcel, "Negro Dialect"; Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto"; Parrish, *Slave Songs*.

[49] Marcel, "Negro Dialect", p. 745.

[50] Gordon, "Negro Shouts", pp. 4, 11.

[51] *ibid*.

[52] John Q. Anderson, "The New Orleans Voodoo Ritual Dance and Its Twentieth-Century Survivals", *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 24 (1960), 140.

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[66] Barton, "Old Plantation Hymns", p. 447.

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[71] Eliza Frances Andrews, The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865 (N. Y.: D. Appleton, 1908), p. 90.

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[73] Adams, "Acculturation of Negro", p. 204.

[74] Barton, "Hymns of Slave", p. 609.

[75] Adams, "Acculturation of Negro", p. 204.

[76] See, Alan Lomax, ed., "Southern Folk Heritage Series: Negro Church Music", Atlantic 1351; Bessie Jones, "So Glad I'm Here", Rounder 2015; Moving Star Hall Singers, "Sea Island Folk Festival", Folkways FS 3841.

[77] Blacknall, "New Departure", p. 682; Johnson, Social History of Sea Islands, p. 151.

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[78] Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, p. xv.

[79] McKim, "Songs of Port Royal", p. 255.

[80] Woofter, *Black Yeomanry*, pp. 60-61.

[81] Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, p. xliv.

[82] William L. Dawson, "Interpretation of the Religious Folk Songs of the American Negro", *Etude*, 73 (1955), 61.

[83] Available on, Samuel B. Charters, ed., "An Introduction to Gospel Song", RBF Records RF 5.

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[87] Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 150-388.

[88] C. H. F., "Negro Worship and Music", *New York Times* (February 25, 1877), 5; Gordon, "Negro Spirituals"; James Wentworth Leigh, *Other Days* (London: Macmillan, 1921) pp. 155-156; John Bennett, "A Revival Sermon at Little St. John's", *Atlantic Monthly*, 98 (1906), 257; Barton, "Recent Negro Melodies", p. 717.

[89] Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, pp. v-vi.

[90] Johnson, *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, pp. 35-37.

[91] See also, Barton, "Recent Negro Melodies", p. 717.

[92] Johnson, *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, p. 36.

[93] Waterman, "African Influences", pp. 208-210.

[94] *ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

[95] Spaulding, "Negro Shouts", p. 197.

[96] George Tucker, *Letters from Virginia* (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr., 1816), pp. 29-30.

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[97] McKim, "Songs of Port Royal", p. 254.

[98] Barton, "Recent Negro Melodies", p. 717.

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[104] Waterman, "African Influence", p. 209.

[105] Lovell, *Black Song*, pp. 18-20.

[106] Allen, Ware and Garrison, *Slave Songs*, p. vii.

[107] Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs*, pp. 18-19.

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[114] Thomas W. Higginson, "Negro Spirituals", *Atlantic Monthly*, 19 (1867), 692.

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[121] Dave Evans, "Record Reviews: Black Religious Music", J. of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 472-480; 86 (1973), 82-86.

[122] Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years, p. 235.

[123] Work, "Changing Patterns", p. 138.

[124] Hentoff, "Mahalia Jackson", p. 17.

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[126] See, Samuel P. Bayard, "Decline and 'Revival' of Anglo-American Folk Music", in Folklore in Action, ed. by Horace Beck, American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series, 14 (1962), p. 27, for a discussion of the white tradition.

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[128] Rev. Louis Overstreet, "An Evening with Rev. Overstreet", Arhoolie F 1014.

[129] "In the Spirit, Nos. 1 and 2", Origin Jazz 12 and 13; Negro Religious Music, Vol. 2, Blues Classics 18.

[130] See, Rev. F. W. McGee, Roots RL-338.

[131] Adams, "Acculturation of Negro", p. 204; Gertrude P. Kurath, "Afro-Wesleyan Liturgical Structure", *Midwest Folklore*, 13 (1963), 29-32.

[132] "God Give Me Light", Herwin 203; Negro Religious Music, Vol. 2, Blues Classics 18.

[133] Tallmadge, "Dr. Watts and Mahalia Jackson", pp. 98-99.

[134] Percival R. Kirby, "A Study of Negro Harmony", *Musical Quarterly*, 16 (1930), 406-407, 412-413.

[135] Ricks, "Some Aspects of", p. 302.

[136] Downey, "The Gospel Hymn", p. 128; Charles E. Gold, "A Study of the Gospel Song", unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1953, p. 83; William H. Tallmadge, "The Responsorial and Antiphonal Practice in Gospel Song", *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968), 219-220.

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[138] Parrish, *Slave Songs*, pp. 58-61.

[139] Tallmadge, "Responsorial and Antiphonal", pp. 219-220.

[140] Ricks, "Some Aspects of", pp. 213-214.

[141] *ibid.*, pp. 74-77, 128-131.

[142] Lomax, *Folk Song Style*, p. 40.

[143] John Hammond, ed., "Spirituals to Swing: The Legendary Carnegie Hall Concerts of 1938/9", Vanguard 8523/4 (Mitchell's Christian Singers); Alan Lomax, ed., "Southern Journey: The Eastern Shores", Prestige International 25008 (Bright Light Quartet); There are no available reissues of the Norfolk and Birmingham Quartets.

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[144] Hammond, ed., "Spirituals to Swing" (Golden Gate Quartet); The Fairfield Four, "Angels Watching Over Me", Nashboro 7045.

[145] The Dixie Hummingbirds, "Move On Up a Little Higher", Hob 296; The Five Blind Boys of Alabama, "Oh Lord Stand By Me", Specialty SPS 2123; The Soul Stirrers, "The Gospel Soul of Sam Cooke with the Soul Stirrers", Specialty SPS 2116; ________, Vol. II, Specialty SPS 2128.

[146] Listen to, Sit Down Servant, by the Swanee Quintet ("The Best of the Swanee Quintet", Crescent LP 3002) and, He's a Friend of Mine, by The Spirit Of Memphis (Samuel B. Charters, ed., "An Introduction to Gospel Song"). Also see, Barry Hansen, "This Is How It All Began, Vol. 1, The Roots of Rock and Roll as recorded from 1945 to 1955 on Specialty Records", notes to Specialty LP record SPS 2117.

[147] Mighty Clouds of Joy, "Live at the Music Hall", Peacock PLP 134; The Salem Travelers, "Tell It Like It Is", Checker LPS 10052; The Violinaires, "God's Creation", Checker LPS 10057.

[148] Oakly, Personal Interview.

[149] Taylor, Personal Interview.

[150] Heilbut, Gospel Sound, p. 80.

[151] Charles Hobson, "The Gospel Truth", Down Beat 35, No. 11 (May 30, 1968), 20.

[152] Harry Smith, ed., "American Folk Music: Social Music", Vol. 2, Folkways FP 252.

[153] Jackson, White Spirituals, pp. 399-409.

[154] Alan Lomax, ed., "Southern Journey: All Day Singing from 'The Sacred Harp'", Prestige International 25007.

[155] Jackson, White Spirituals, p. 208.

SUMMARY

The central thrust of this study considers that change in the genre, black religious folksong, has been due to socio-cultural and historical factors. It appears, given the evidence presented here, that the expressive system of a culture will change depending on its relationship and contact with other groups. The result of this will be a shift in the attitudes, values, and worldview; essentially the totality of that culture's cognitive system. If anything, the historical development of black Americans shows that their position in the United States was dependent on gross historical circumstances that were dictated by American society as a whole. These historical parameters were: slavery, emancipation and the realization of freedom, and the significance of urbanization in the twentieth century. Throughout these periods, the reaction of American society to blacks can be traced and analyzed as to its affect on black life in America. Each period has been discussed relative to geographical location, education, social status and their interrelationship to vertical mobility, occupation, economic standing and class position.

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The findings suggest that there were two general directions in the black church and consequently its music, each being dependent on these social factors. One was orietated toward white values and ideals. They comprised the upper class in black society. This group was the most educated, financially secure, and had the highest status. Their religious music tended to be relatively sedate and more attune to white standards and performance patterns. This class was more Europeanized in behavior, motivation and religious practices. The other group consisted of the masses of black Americans who were not part of the mainstream of American life. They had the least education, poorest economic security, and the lowest status. Their housing was the worst and in urban areas they were crowded into highly dense ghettoes. Because of social exclusion, this group continued a truly Afro-American culture from the days of slavery. This was mirrored in the nature of their religious practices and songs which tended to be action-orientated contrary to that of the upper class. We have appended the label, "shouting", to this group to denote their inclination toward motor repsonses, body movements and the like. The prime goal in shouting was the induction of the Holy Spirit and its power. We have discussed this in terms of African theology and religious belief and applied it to the slave.

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The slave desired power for deliverance from bondage, while blacks in the twentieth century used it to gain happiness and stability in a religious community within an adverse environment.

It has been pointed out that urban areas tended to have a more sophisticated environment and offered blacks better educational facilities, more personal freedom and better opportunities. The rural areas were generally the reverse of this. Again, the South was found to be less amenable to black participation whereas the North, having most of its black residents in a urban setting, was more open.

Generations was found to play a role in the acceptance of newer song forms over the older, more traditional types. It has been considered to be a factor in the repertoire of a congregation as far as being an innovative factor for change.

Both the religious practices and songs are part of the culture's "Secondary Institutions" in which one is able to determine the worldview and values of the group in question. Essentially, they act as indicators of the particular social situation in which black Americans found themselves. By documenting this social milieu and the relationship of blacks to American society, the underlying basis for meaning as well as change in the

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songs can be grasped. The songs, then, are totally interwoven with these historical developments and when such transformations occur, one can detect alterations in the meaning, imagery, music and performance of the songs.

In actual fact, we have discussed two historical dimensions. One dealt purely with the social factors and dynamics within black culture; the other with the songs themselves as they developed based on these social factors. In conjunction with this, chapters devoted to the literary structure and musical nature of the songs have focused on the location of alteration in them due to these social relationships. Generally speaking, the spiritual being the type song of the nineteenth century, may be said to contain a rich imagery of a people having traditional folk roots, a highly repetitive verse and a loose informal organization of stanzas. The gospel song, being the type song of the twentieth century, displays a more structured verse organization, much less repetition and a more sophisticated and urban language. The performance-musical chapter describes such aspects as lining-out, the ring shout, spiritual-singing, gospel-singing, etc. Each have been discussed from the standpoint of their performance features, i.e., harmony, rhythm, vocal qualities, occasion, presence of musical instruments and other factors which define them stylistically.

As an adjunct to this investigation, we have been aware of the necessity to emphasize those cognitive terms employed by black Americans in describing their songs. Such an approach enables one to better visualize how the culture perceives and orders the symbolic material, how it is employed for different occasions and finally its relationship to worldview and cultural attitudes. For instance, the terms "jubilee" and "anthem", provide a number of definitions which must be taken into account depending on the context and point in time. This suggests that older definitions and use of terms may not be apropos for contemporary situations. And returning once again to our first point, change in meaning is due to socio-cultural and historical factors.

Admittedly, this investigation has been only able to study these cognitive terms at a gross level. The next step in the process would be to determine how the songs operate within the matrix of a well-developed religious community. In such a study, an ethnography could be done interrelating the songs with the way of life and attitudes of the group. Such questions as, how the songs work for the individual in and outside of the church; how they promote stability in the community; how they represent the religious as well as social viewpoint; how they are perceived relative to previous historical periods - has value here.

APPENDIX I

COGNITIVE CATEGORIES

These terms, as far as can be determined, have been used by black Americans to refer to their religious songs. No distinction is made on class position nor date. The list begins in the nineteenth century.

Term	Reference	Special Note
ant'ems	Parrish (1942)	
anthems	Hentoff (1958) E. Hill (n. d.)	
anthum	Parsons (1928)	refers to spirituals sung in the Bahamas and St. Domingo
ballets	Kennedy (1924, 1931) Turner (1931)	
ballotts	Murphy (1903)	
cantiques	Oster (1962)	French term for spiritual used by Louisiana blacks. Means hymns.
contest hymn	Kennedy (1925)	spirituals sung at a Saturday night song contest
corn-field ditties	Payne (1888)	
country & western gospel	M. Williams (1974)	
death angel	Kennedy (1924 & 5)	is the singer of spirituals at wakes
Dr. Watt	Kurath (1956) Jackson (1943)	

Term	Reference	Special Note
Dr. Watts	J. T. Howard (1946	
	Tallmadge (1961)	
	Work (1949)	
(old) Dr. Watts	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters")	
Dorseys	Work (1949)	
	Bontemps (1942)	
evangelistic songs	Heilbut (1971)	refers to gospel songs
flower dance	Davenport (1905)	similar to ring shout
folk-gospel	M. Williams (1974)	
	West (1969)	
glory shout	Pierce (1862)	at end of the service, join hands, sing and beat time
gospel	Hentoff (1958)	
	Frazier (1971)	
gospel hymns	DuBois (1903)	
gospel song	Bontemps (1942)	
	McLin (1971)	
	Heilbut (1971)	
hallies	Adams (1947)	
hime	C. Stearns (1872)	
hymn-chunes	"Word Shadows" (1891)	
hymns	Grew (1935)	
jazz-gospel	M. Williams (1974)	
jubilee	Botume (1893)	
	Bradford (1963)	
	Hentoff (1958)	
	McLin (1970)	
	M. Stearns (1956)	
jubilee himes	Kennedy (1931)	

Term	Reference	Special Note
jubilee hymns	McIlhenny (1933)	
jubilee singing	Hentoff (1958)	
jubilee songs	DuBois (1903)	
jumped-up	Arnold (1954)	refers to the newer gospel songs
leading praises	"Beliefs and Customs" (1897)	religious songs sung on the way to the graveyard
little spiritual songs	E. F. Andrews (1865)	
marching round Jericho	Barton ("Old Plantation", 1898)	singing spirituals while marching around mourner's bench
mellows	Kennedy (1925 & 1931) Allsopp (1931)	means melody and refers to spirituals
member-songs	"Word Shadows" (1891)	general term for religious songs
my original hyme	Wm. W. Brown (1880)	
occasional hymns	Higginson (1867)	spirituals sung only for special occasions
plantation melodies	Taylor (1883)	
praise	Allen, Ware & Garrison (1867)	to hold a service or prayer to the Lord
praise, making a	McIlhenny (1933)	refers to lining-out
praise house	Lawton (1939)	refers to a church
railroad songs	Barton ("Recent Negro", 1899)	refers to songs sung by construction workers, some of which may be spirituals

Term	Reference	Special Note
reb-time songs	Kennedy (1931)	refers to time of spirituals
revival songs	Bontemps (1942)	are rhythmic songs in contradistinction to those for the regular service
	Ellison (1931)	
rock-gospel	M. Williams (1974)	
	West (1969)	
rocking daniel	Adams (1947)	refers to style of singing old spirituals
rocking daniel dance	Davenport (1905)	ring shout
roper dance	*ibid.*	
sorrow songs	Douglass (1855)	
shout, the	Spaulding (1863)	
shouting	Haskell (1899)	refers to rhythmic body movements
	C. Stearns (1872)	refers to the ring shout
shouts	Ellison (1931)	songs having tunes with rhythmic swing
sperichils	Allen, Ware & Garrison (1867)	
	Barrett (1871-3)	
sperichils just sittin' round	Allen, Ware & Garrison (1867)	
sperichils runnin'	*ibid.*	spirituals used for the ring shout
sperichual songs	Bergen (1889)	
speritulas	Marcel (1865)	
	Higginson (1867)	
spiritual songs	Carawan (1966)	
spirituals	"Desecration of" (1922)	
	Frazier (1971)	
	Grew (1935)	
	Hentoff (1958)	
	King (1875)	

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Term	Reference	Special Note
	Mclin (1970)	
	Murphy (1899, 1903)	
	Turner (1931)	
	M. Stearns (1956)	
	McIlhenny (1933)	
spirituelles	"Word Shadows" (1891)	are long chants
swing church songs	Adams (1947)	refers to newer gospel songs
tabernacle songs	Bontemps (1942)	

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APPENDIX II

THE SEQUENCE OF A SERVICE AND THE SONGS IN A PHILADELPHIA SANCTIFIED CHURCH (CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST) NOVEMBER, 1973 to MARCH, 1974

The program may vary but usually follows the general plan given below. The older hymns and spirituals have been totally rearranged under the guise of gospel music. "Hymn" is equated with white gospel hymns of the late nineteenth century and "gospel" with black gospel songs. "Old Hymn" is used to denote the earlier white forms such as Watts. In the list of songs, the titles are a composite of all the tunes performed at that time as collected from six Sunday services. Repetition of songs in the program means that that given selection was sung during more than one part of the six services analyzed but were done so at different dates.

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Program	Category of song	Title	Composer & Date (where known)
Processional	Old Hymn	We're Marching to Zion	Watts
Innvocation	--------------------		
Selection	Hymn	My Hope Is Built	Mote (before 1895
	Hymn	Tis So Sweet to Trust in Jesus	Stead-Kirkpatrick (ca 1880s)
Old Testament Scriptures	--------------------		
Selection	Hymn	More Love to Thee	Prentiss-Doane (1870)
	Hymn	What a Friend We Have in Jesus	Converse-Scriven (before 1887)
	Hymn	Blessed Assurance	Knapp-Crosby (1873)
New Testament Scriptures	--------------------		
Congregational Hymn	Hymn	What a Friend We Have in Jesus	(see above)
	Hymn	Since Jesus Came Into My Heart	McDaniel-Gabriel (1914)
	Hymn	Love Lifted Me	Rowe-Smith (1912)
	Hymn	Higher Ground	Oatman-Gabriel (1926)
	probably gospel	He'll Understand & Say Well Done	Lucie Camball Williams (?)

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Program	Category of song	Title	Composer & Date (where known)
Apostle's Creed	--		
Selection	Gospel	If Job Waited on the Lord, Why Can't I	Johnson (1974)
	Hymn	More Love to Thee	(see above)
	Gospel	Jesus Is on the Mainline Now	
	Gospel	He's So Good to Me	
	Hymn	Blessed Assurance	(see above)
	probably Gospel	Waiting on the Lord	
Home & Foreign Missionary	--------	Our Missionaries are Looking This Way	----------------
Announcements	--		
Selection	Gospel	Something Inside of Me, Telling Me to Go Ahead	
	Gospel	Oh Sinner Man	
	Spiritual	Up Above My Head (Over My Head)	revised - 1969
	Hymn	Revive Us Again	MacKay-Husband (ca 1880)
	probably Gospel	I'm So Glad I Got Joy	
	Gospel	Lord, Help Me to Hold Out	J. Cleveland (1974)
Pastoral Prayer	--		

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Program	Category of song	Title	Composer & Date (where known)
Bringing of Tithes	--------------	------------------------------	--------------
Morning Message (Sermon)	--------------	------------------------------	--------------
Selection	Spiritual	This Little Light of Mine, I'm Gonna Let It Shine	
	Spiritual	Gonna Shout All Over God's Heaven	
	Spiritual	Since I Lay My Burden Down	
	Gospel	Make Up Your Mind (?)	
	Gospel	Jesus Is on the Mainline Now	
	Gospel	Heaven Belongs to You	M. Williams
Offertory	--------------	------------------------------	--------------
Benediction	--------------	------------------------------	--------------

XUM

APPENDIX III

HYMNS USED BY BLACK CONGREGATIONS FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO DATE, AS DOCUMENTED IN THE LITERATURE

This list emphasizes those hymns written in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Title	Reference
A Charge to Keep I Have (Wesley)	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters, Vol 7) Earnest (1914) Heilbut (1971) Hobson (1968)
All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name	Earnest (1914)
Am I a Soldier of the Cross (Watts)	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 7) Earnest (1914)
Amazing Grace (Newton)	Heilbut (1971) Earnest (1914) Jahoda (1967) Hobson (1968)
Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove (Watts)	Earnest (1914)
Come, Humble Sinner, in Whose Breast (E. Jones)	Moore (1889)
Come Ye That Love the Lord (Watts)	Ramsey ("Young Songsters", Vol 9)
Dark Was the Night, Cold Was the Ground	Ferris (1972) Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 7)
Father, I Stretch My Hands to Thee (Wesley)	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 6)
Go Preach My Gospel (Watts)	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 6) Simms (1888)
Hark! From the Tomb a Mounful Sound (Watts)	Avirett (1901) Showers (1898)

XUM

Title	Reference
I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say (Bonar)	Kurath (1956) Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 6) Heilbut (1971) As heard in a Philadelphia sanctified church (1974)
I Love the Lord, He Heard My Cry (Watts)	Ferris (1972) Heilbut (1971)
Must Jesus Bear the Cross Alone? (T. Shepherd)	Heilbut (1971)
Nearer My God to Thee (Adams)	Earnest (1914)
Salvation! O, The Joyful Sound (Watts)	Moore (1889)
That Awful Day Will Surely Come (Watts)	Ferris (1972) Heilbut (1971)
The Day Is Past and Gone (Leland)	Ramsey ("Young Songsters", Vol 8) Heilbut (1971) Hobson (1968)
There Is a Fountain Filled With Blood (Cowper)	Earnest (1914)
Vital Spark (Pope)	Mackie (1864) "Sketches of Old Virginia Family Servants" (1847)
We're Marching to Zion (Watts)	As heard in a Philadelphia sanctified church (1973)
When I Can Read My Title Clear (Watts)	Ramsey ("Elder Songsters", Vol 7) Pierson (1881) Kilham (1870) Lowery (1911)
Why Do We Mourn Departed Friends? (Watts)	Botume (1893)

XUM

APPENDIX IV

THE USE OF SPIRITUALS FOR DIFFERENT OCCASIONS

Context	Reference
baptism	Carmer (1934)
	Gordon ("The Spirituals", 1927)
bedtime	Goldsborough (1900)
	Malet (1863)
cakewalk	Bassett (1881)
cante-fable	Kerby (1928)
	Murphy (1899)
christmas eve	Botume (1893)
	Carawan (1966)
	Higginson (1867)
contests - between children	"Negro Spiritual Contest" (1926)
- whistling	Cooley (1930)
cooking	Gordon ("The Spirituals", 1927)
disasters - typhoon	"Folk Songs in the Making" (1929)
funeral	E. Adams (1925)
	Avirett (1901)
	"Beliefs and Customs" (1897)
	Gordon ("The Spirituals", 1927)
	Higginson (1867)
	Kerby (1928)
	Olmstead (1856, 1861)
	Pierson (1881)
	Talbot (1922)
	Woofter (1930)
home	Cooley (1930)
house-blessing	Woofter (1930)
lodge meeting	Woofter (1930)
lullaby	Goldsborough (1900)
New Year's	Botume (1893)

XUM

Context	Reference
pealing parties	Parsons (1928), in Santo Domingo
school, in	Cooley (1930)
seeker being examined by church	"Religious Experiences" (1895)
slave taken to be sold	Stroyer (1885)
wakes	"Negro Wakes" (1944)
weddings	Parsons (1928), in Santo Domingo
workers - boatmen - at night on land -	Malet (1863)
fixing boat -	Goldsborough (1930)
rowing -	Arrowood (1928)
	Bremer (1854)
	Gilman (1838)
	Gordon ("The Spirituals", 1927)
	Higginson (1867)
	Kemble (1863)
	Lyell (1849)
	Marcel (1865)
	McKim, L. (1862)
	Nordhoff (1863)
	Pearson, E. (1906)
	Russell (1863)
	Shaler (1870)
- construction (railroad, etc.)	Barton ("Recent Negro", 1899)
- dock (when loosening boat from levee)	Wheeler (1944)
- fishermen	Stearns, M. (1956)
- mill	McKim, L. (1862)
- miscellaneous	Kirby (1928)
	"Sketches of Old Virginia Servants" (1847)
- shrimp & oyster house	Gordon ("The Spirituals", 1927)
- tobacco factory	Bryant (1850)
	King (1875)
- washerwoman	Allsopp (1931)